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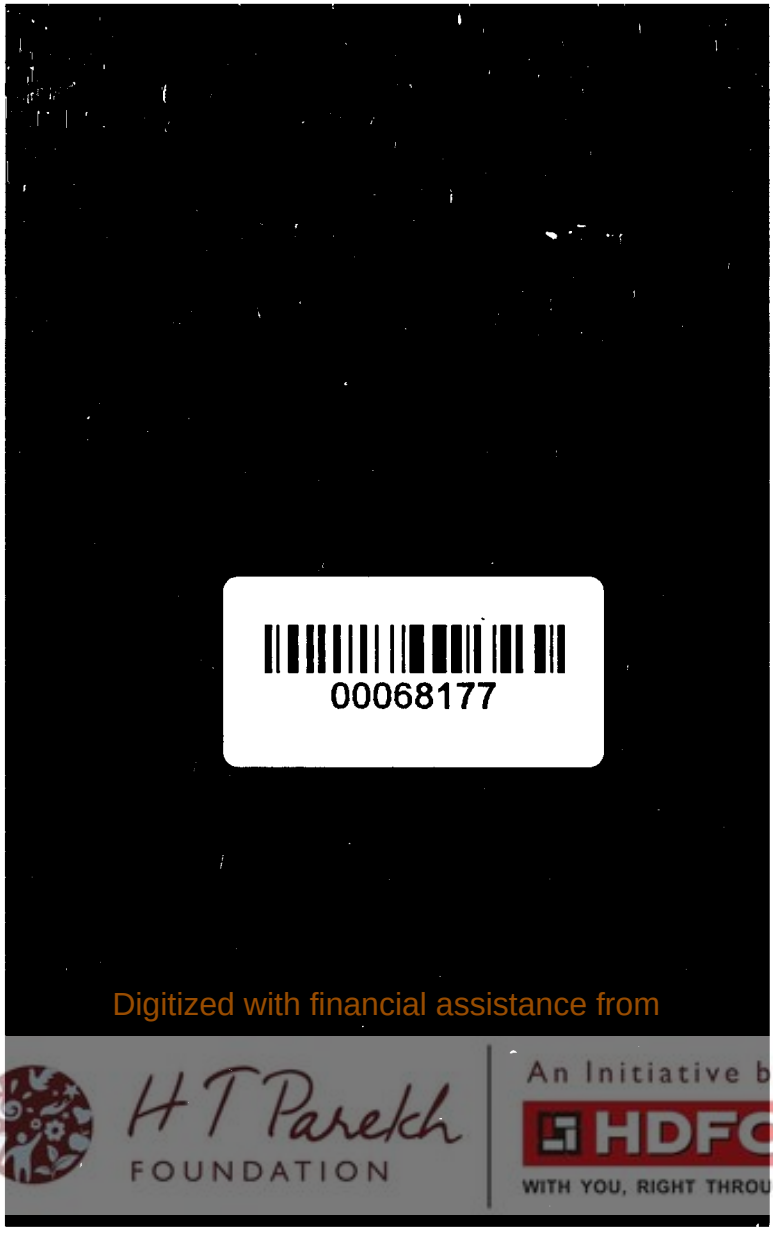

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on 27 November, 2018

HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE

OR,

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME UNDER COMMODUS AND ALEXANDER

AND

ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY AND DIVINITY COMPARED.

68177

BY CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN,
D.C.L.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Life of the Ancient Church, in Education, Baptism, and Worship, in Government and Social Relations.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1852.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-Street-Square.

TO

The Memory

OF

THOMAS ARNOLD.

DU HAST MIT UNS GEKÄMPFET DES GLAUBENS HEILGEN KAMPF,
FÜR ALLE TIEF EMPFUNDEN DER BITTREN LEIDEN KRAMPF:
DU SAHST DER MENSCHHEIT NAHEN GERICHT UND BLUTGEN STREIT,
KLAR STAND VOR DEINEM AUGE DER JAMMER DIESER ZEIT.

DA TRAF DICH JENES SEHNEN DAS STILLT DER ERDE SCHMERZ,
ES LÖSTE SICH IN LIEBE DAS MILDE STREITERHERZ,
BEGRÜSSTEST HELD ALS BOTEN GESANDT VON VATERHAND,
DEN ENGEL DER DICH FÜHRTE INS EWGE HEIMATHLAND.

VERSTUMMT IST NUN AM GRABE DES ZORNS UND HASSES WUTH,
EIN LEUCHTTHURM RAGST DU STRAHLEND AUS NÄCHTGER STURMES FLUTH,
ES SPROSSET HEILGEN SAMEN IN MANCHER JUNGEN BRUST,
EIN VOLK VOLL EDLEN STOLZES BLICKT AUF ZU DIR MIT LUST.

DU SELBST BIST WEGGERÜCKET AUS DER VERWIRRUNG NOTH,
DAS SCHWERSTE SEELENLEIDEN HAT DIR ERSPART DER TOD:
ES LIEGT VOR DIR ENTHÜLLET DAS RÄTHSEL DIESER WELT,
SCHAUST NUN WAS DU GEGLAUBET VON GOTTES LICHT ERHELLT.

WIR ABER WOLLEN KÄMPFEN, WIE DU ES VORGETHAN,
IN HOFFNUNG UND IN LIEBE MIT GLAUBEN ANGETHAN,
DIE EWIGKEIT VOR AUGEN, WAHRHAFTIGKEIT IM SINN,
UND GEBEN FÜR DIE WAHRHEIT DAS LEBEN WILLIG HIN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two preceding Volumes exhibit the critical part of my task: the first philologically, the sec[illegible] losophically and historically. As to [illegible] tive portion, I promised in the Pre[illegible] First, some contributions towards th[illegible] an authentic picture of the age of H[illegible] is to say, of the community-life of the [illegible] in education and in worship, in governm[illegible] social relations. Secondly, an image of the [illegible] of the present time reflected in the mind of Hi[illegible] tus, as the representative of the learning and divi[illegible] of the Church from the end of the second till towards the middle of the third century.

I have endeavoured to redeem this pledge in the two concluding Volumes.

I present therefore in the Third a picture and its interpretation. The First Part exhibits the documents of early Christianity, in which the common consciousness and the Christian life of that age are authentically recorded. They are the picture: their interpretation and application are attempted in the

Second Part. This Second Part brings, first of all, to that end, the picture itself before our eyes, in an explanatory form. It, secondly, reflects in that picture the present time, connected with it through the history of fifteen centuries. Lastly, it endeavours to deduce from it a practical application for the reform of our present state. Of the subjects which come thus under our consideration, there is one which unites both the elements, the community-life and [redacted] Liturgies of the ancient Church. Their [redacted]ent in such confusion, that the details [redacted]red intelligible without a critical di- [redacted] them as can be traced back to the [redacted] century. On the other hand, they [redacted]cally restored without a clear view of [redacted] framework which our Text-Book exhibits. [redacted] therefore, excluded from the general Text- [redacted] of ancient Christianity all liturgical formularies [redacted]ond the general framework common to all ancient Churches. But I have presented, as the concluding point of my researches, a comparative view of the Liturgies of the second and third, with those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, both of the Eastern and of the Western Churches. It is only in this connexion that we can show how far the age of Hippolytus had already complete liturgical formularies, and that we can understand their spirit and their relation to the rituals of the Post-Nicene Church.

The collection and interpretation of the Liturgies

of the ancient Church constitute the Second Part of the Fourth Volume, which opens with the Apology of Hippolytus. This Apology is intended to show, in the form of fiction, what a picture the divinity of our own age would reflect, as seen through the eyes of Hippolytus, were he brought face to face with it.

The object of the First Part of the Third Volume is to restore the authentic texts of the "Church- and House-Book of the early Christians" and of the "Law-Book of the Ante-Nicene Church." The first ... hibit rescued by the researches in the ... from the rubbish in which it was env... ries, and disencumbered of the frau... standing by which it was defaced. ... Law-Book, we have been enabled to ... more original text, under the guidance ... Collection. They are both mere single l... cued from the flood of time, the legacies o... generations, who wrote, with their own blood, ... annals of the life of their hidden community, so important to universal history. In spite of the fictitious form which disguises their real contents, they exhibit the venerable picture of that primitive age in a recognisable and intelligible shape. They are essentially a childlike appendix to the New Testament, and at the same time an independent test of its truth, as being the fulfilment of what the Gospel promises. For here we find, on the one hand, a continuation of the Ordinances of the Apostles, as

given in their canonical Epistles; on the other, the advice which the three great Apostles and the brother of our Lord had communicated in their canonical writings, applied, in the Apostolic spirit, to the wants of the Church, and of the human race renovated in that Church. These little insignificant books, then, as a whole, represent nothing less than the framework of the new world, which was to arise out of the spirit, life, and death of Christ, [redacted] of the exhortations of his Apostles, that is [redacted]d-renewing Christian Society, or the [redacted]ch. The revelation given to us by [redacted]other historical basis than in what [redacted]s. The actual historical proof, how- [redacted]truth of the Biblical revelation, lies [redacted]hurch. The Church, again, is in an [redacted] sense that primitive congregation, whose [redacted]nd exalted working in the first seven genera- [redacted] these leaves authenticate.

The Church- and House-Book of the ancient Church, more especially, is a book recording that Christian wisdom and piety inspired by the Holy Ghost. It is a book composed by believing souls whose names are known to God, and sealed with the blood of the confessors of the faith. It exhibits a testimony of faith in the moral government of the world, practically tried; a testimony to the freedom of mind and to the indestructibility of the dignity of man, against the tyranny of a Nero and the administration

of justice of a Trajan; a light in the midst of the darkness of despairing infidelity, and of a comfortless philosophy among the educated classes. There is nothing which makes this document more venerable than its divine simplicity and childlikeness. Let no one open its leaves who does not know how to value this simplicity. To him who will not read them, as the Bible must be read, with pure and respectful feelings, they will only give offence and be injurious; he will only wrong, without in the least understanding them.

It is difficult to say whether the ordinances of the early Christian age, which were attributed to the Apostles, are more important for what they establish, or for their abstaining from laying down rules and formularies upon other points. The ordinances themselves are of great consequence, not merely to those Churches which derive their doctrine and constitution from the Apostolic Church, but likewise to those which feel a vocation to frame, with Christian freedom, their own institutions directly from the Sacred Records. Those ordinances show to the old Churches, that their forms do not (as they assume) harmonize with the spirit and letter of that age; to the Reformed Churches, that their articles and practices cannot be established on the letter of the Bible alone, but that, if these practices are based upon any truly ancient authority, they rest upon traditional primitive customs. For much which they have defended for

three centuries, as Biblical, is neither Biblical nor Apostolical, except so far as the Christian freedom which they have exercised is truly evangelical. To Romanists, therefore, and Protestants, these records preach temper and moderation; and, to those among them who are willing to listen to their voice, they proclaim reason and freedom.

They are, however, not less important for what, out of faith in the operation of the Spirit in the Church, they leave to the evangelical liberty, either of the special congregation or of the individual. They prove, therefore, directly and indirectly, that, without this emancipation from the letter, the restored Church, which is that of the Future, can no more exist, than it can without the spirit of that grand Christian view which is reflected in these ordinances.

That no Church, no Christian society, corresponds exactly with this picture of Apostolic reality, would, as a general remark, prove nothing. For no age, however primitive, not even that of the Apostles themselves (the first century, or the first two generations), is in its phenomena, its institutions, and its forms, perfect, or suitable for all times. That a form should express the wants and suit the condition of its times is essential to its perfection; but this condition changes, and no age is without its faults. What I mean here to say is this: that no historical Church of the present day can be compared with that Apostolic age, without manifold

misconceptions of later times becoming lamentably apparent in that light of truth and of substantial reality. Between us and those Fathers, empty phantoms have started up, darkening that primitive age: and, wherever these dark phantoms are received as lights, they will obscure the light of primitive antiquity, and falsify the life of our own time. A severe trial, therefore, awaits any one who looks primitive Christianity in the face.

The first effect is to engender perplexity, wavering, and doubt. Men of less serious minds, or persons brought up in slavery, and not feeling the need of freedom, may be led by it to unbelief, whether in the form of total abandonment of Christianity as the religion of the future, or in the form of a refuge in an external infallibility which puts an end not only to all thought, but also to all real belief. This is the state of men's minds in the higher classes of society in Romanic countries; and threatens to become their state in the Established Church of half Germanic, half Celto-Romanic England.

And yet, what clear-headed and honest inquirer, to whom Christianity is a life, and its renovation the condition on which all the hopes for the future of the European world are based, has not felt, in our trying and almost Apocalyptic times, the want of entering into communion of life with the spirit of primitive Christianity? Who is there so infatuated by the canonized forms of his own Church, as not to wish

to behold, in all its reality, her supposed model? Or what reflecting Bible Christian is there, whose belief in the letter is so firm, that he can venture to remain indifferent to hearing how those Apostolical men understood that letter, and how they endeavoured to realize that message of salvation in doctrine and in worship, in faith and in life? You take your stand upon the Church; here is its commencement. You take your stand upon the Bible; here is its first Apostolical realization. What is required of you is, not to substitute scholarship and research for simple Christian faith, much less to set up the idol of philosophy in the shrine of religion. You have no longer to deal with the abstract philosophy and barren research of the eighteenth century; you live in the nineteenth, one of historical philosophy and of reconstruction. The work to which we are called is, unweariedly and humbly to sweep the porch of the Temple; to clear the floor; not to riot as destructives in the darkened chambers, but to bestir ourselves to restore and to allow the light of Heaven to penetrate within them. It is the rubbish of false learning and conventional scholasticism which separates us from the Sanctuary, and it is high time to sweep it away, as the signs of the latter days have appeared, in which infidel superstition intends to usurp the altar, and wilful falsehood the throne of truth.

Assuming, now, the result of such a conscientious examination of facts and documents to be what I

have arrived at in these and in the two preceding Volumes (and I am firmly convinced, no thinker and investigator can arrive, upon the whole, at a very different conclusion), the question arises: What is to be done? Shall we build ourselves a new house out of some blocks of the Apostolic age, upon the ruins of the one in which we were born and live? Or shall we, in the despair of unbelief, and in the weakness of materialism (which is real ungodliness), refuse all research and all investigation into our Church life and common constitution, in whatsoever shape; and above all, shall we refuse to lay a finger on the plague-spots, because we might make the evil worse? Is this not saying, in other words, that Christianity is not true? Or, since the ecclesiastical foundations are everywhere gone or giving way, shall we try to strengthen them by outward forms, or, if need be, support them by force, because the forms of religion are so closely connected with state arrangements and outward customs, and even, perhaps, with influence and power, with interest and wealth? Or shall we rake up all the arts of sophistry and false learning, straining at gnats and swallowing camels, in order to persuade people that all is right, although the form satisfies the conscience no longer, and leaves the mind empty?

Humanly speaking, the possibility of a peaceable and really reconstructive European solution of this question, at the present moment, depends on Germany

and England, and, beyond the Atlantic, on the giant scion of England, which practically developes, more and more, in an original manner peculiar to itself, the germs of the Protestant life received from the mother country, and attaches itself intellectually more strongly and inwardly to Germany. And here we must not conceal from ourselves a circumstance deserving of great consideration in reference to England and Germany. As the German of the last hundred years has far too little inclination for reality and life, so the Englishman of the same period has too little propensity towards research and knowledge. In the one case, the idea has great difficulty in becoming reality; in the other, the form is slow to become a conscious idea. This is a sad, but incontrovertible fact, which I feel myself compelled by internal conviction to state. It is a matter important for the history of the world, and threatens to become fatal; for no real restoration can take place without the union of those two elements. But there is still time to do this. All, indeed, that is required at this instant, in order to avert destruction, is merely to open the way to a union of the leading minds in the two equally noble branches of the Teutonic race, so that each may furnish the other, in harmony with the feelings of the people and the times, with the element in which it is deficient; and, by combining Idea with Reality, and Reality with Idea, may rescue and invigorate the

whole. In Germany, the tendency towards the Real is, indeed, increasing, inasmuch as excessive indulgence in the Ideal has produced only fancifulness and debility, and has resulted in tearing the nation to pieces. In England, on the other hand, the want of research and thought, and the desire for intellectual freedom, make themselves felt more and more, and not the least so, indeed, in those who have passed through the school of medieval forms and the enchanted garden of Romanism. The Germans feel that infidelity and slavery follow in the wake of the idolization of science; the English, that the Christian life is not assured without knowledge and inward conviction, and that the Jesuits lurk behind the superstitious attachment to the middle ages. Generally, however, a vast movement, both spiritual and political, yea social, is agitating men's minds, and the nations are convinced that they cannot be free without the Gospel, and that they will neither be able to obtain or retain the Gospel without political liberty.

While, then, we exclude from our counsels all such suggestions of despair, as being equally unworthy of a man and of a Christian, we establish two safe principles. The first is, that, in all congregational and ecclesiastical institutions, Christian freedom, within limits conformable to Scripture, constitutes the first requisite for a vital restoration. The second fundamental principle is, that every

Church must hold fast what she already possesses, in so far as it presents itself to her consciousness as true and efficacious. In virtue of the first condition, she will combine Reason and Scripture in due proportions: by virtue of the second, she will distinguish between Spirit and Letter, between Idea and Form. No external clerical forms and medieval reflexes of bygone social and intellectual conditions can save us, nor can sectarian schisms and isolation from national life. Neither can learned speculations, and still less the incomparably more arrogant dreams of the unlearned. Scientific consciousness must dive into real life, and refresh itself in the feelings of the people, and that no one will be able to do without having made himself thoroughly conversant with the sufferings and the sorrows of the lowest classes of society. For out of the feeling of these sufferings and sorrows, as being to a great degree the most extensive and most deep-seated product of evil, that is, of selfishness, arose, eighteen hundred years ago, the divine birth of Christianity. The new birth, however, requires new pangs of labour, and not only on the part of individuals, but of the whole nation, in so far as she bears within her the germs of future life, and possesses the strength to bring forth. Every nation must set about the work herself, not indeed as her own especial exclusive concern, but as the interest of all mankind. Every people has the vo-

cation to coin for itself the divine form of Humanity, in the Church as well as in the State; its life depends upon this being done, not its reputation merely; it is the condition of existence, not merely of prosperity.

Is it not time, in truth, to withdraw the veil from our misery? to point to the clouds which rise from all quarters, to the noxious vapours which have already well nigh suffocated us? to tear off the mask from hypocrisy, and destroy that sham which is undermining all real ground beneath our feet? to point out the dangers which surround, nay, threaten already to engulf us? Is the state of things satisfactory in a Christian sense, where so much that is unchristian predominates, and where Christianity has scarcely begun here and there to penetrate the surface of the common life? Shall we be satisfied with the increased outward respect paid to Christianity and the Church? Shall we take it as a sign of renewed life, that the names of God and Christ have become the fashion, and are used as a party badge? Can a society be said to be in a healthy condition, in which material and selfish interests in individuals, as well as in the masses, gain every day more and more the upperhand? in which so many thinking and educated men are attached to Christianity only by outward forms, maintained either by despotic power, or by a not less despotic, half superstitious, half hypocritical custom? When

so many churches are empty and satisfy but few, or display more and more outward ceremonials and vicarious rites? When a godless schism has sprung up between spirit and form, or has even been preached up as a means of rescue? When gross ignorance or confused knowledge, cold indifference or the fanaticism of superstition, prevails as to the understanding of Holy Scripture, as to the history, nay, the fundamental ideas, of Christianity? When force invokes religion in order to command, and demagogues appeal to the religious element in order to destroy? When, after all their severe chastisements and bloody lessons, most statesmen base their wisdom only on the contempt of mankind; and when the prophets of the people preach a liberty, the basis of which is selfishness, the object libertinism, and the wages are vice? And this in an age the events of which show more and more fatal symptoms, and in which a cry of ardent longing pervades the people, reechoed by a thousand voices!

Let us gaze, then, with the earnestness which this view of the state of the world demands, on the mirror which the Church- and House-Book of the Apostolic age holds up to us.

This mirror shows us, in the Second Part of the present Volume, four pictures. We see in it the Christian school and the Christian congregation, Christian worship and Christian life; four simple childlike pictures, which nevertheless represent the foreshadowing

and model of almost everything great, noble, and hallowing, which has sprung up, in renewed youth and beauty, out of the tomb of the old world and renovated the face of the earth.

There is but one element wanting to make this picture complete; the Christian knowledge and philosophy possessed by the ancient Church. The Apology of Hippolytus is principally designed to fill up this gap: it has been clothed in the garb of fiction, as being the most suitable, for reasons already given in the Preface to the First Volume.

By the side of that domestic and congregational life of the ancient Christians, which from the very foundation of social life prepares the new world, a deep mental development, the prefiguration of a new philosophy, pervades the primitive Church, without a representation of which the picture of that age not only remains incomplete, but in its most essential portions unintelligible.

The original impulse of this mental development lies in the life and declarations of Christ in regard to Himself and His relation with the Father and the Brethren, and in the doctrine of such a communion of the children of God as must convert the dominion of selfishness, of self-will, and of tyranny, into a kingdom of God, into a kingdom of love and truth, of inward law and intellectual freedom. Father, Son, Spirit, and God, Man, Mankind, these are the centres of a system of speculation intimately connected with a

deep ethic earnestness, and with a world-renewing instinct of association. The germ of the historical development of this Divine doctrine and this Divine life bursts forth with vital power in the Apostolic writings and histories, and unfolds itself in forms aspiring to universality in the Greek and Roman world; inasmuch as it endeavours to combine the wisdom and learning of that world with the sacred records and the life of the Christians.

Such was the commencement of that great spiritual drama, the elements, complications, and solutions of which I have attempted to exhibit, partly philosophically, partly historically, in the Second Volume of this work. By the side of a depth of speculative thought striving after truth and knowledge, stood a moral power of mind which was maintained through life and in death; a seriousness of character which was rooted in the feeling of the horror of sin on the one hand, and in the belief in salvation and the Divine providential order of an eternal fatherly Love on the other. This combination forms the main strength of ancient Christianity, and constitutes the highest historical significance of its philosophic development of Thought. Its weak side is the unsuccessful attempt to unite the philosophical and historical elements, the Idea and the Fact. But in the midst of the tragic complication which necessarily ensues from this antagonism, two saving elements manifest themselves: the Christian Truth which forms

the basis of the system, and the Truthfulness which is reflected in the life of the Church, as it appears in the Church- and House-Book. Scripture and practical Church life regulate and support the scientific consciousness of Apostolic Christianity; and, by both, what is obscure in speculation is cleared up, and what is imperfect in knowledge supplied. Even the unhistorical, half-rabbinical, half-neoplatonic system of interpretation (or rather misinterpretation) is so far corrected by these two elements, that, in the main points, the original truth is not lost, but only obscured and distorted.

Shortly after the time of Hippolytus that speculative tone of thought forced itself from the school into the congregation. With the introduction of Christianity into the Roman empire as a State-religion, the metaphysical formulas of the majority of the bishops took the place of the very inmost consciousness and life of Christendom, and claimed submission as the symbols and conditions of union with Christ and his Church. When thus the superior clergy had obtained spiritual supremacy in the world, two fresh races of men appeared on the stage of the Roman world. The Germanic race embraced Christianity under the form of the Roman Church as State-religion: and later, the Slavonic tribes, after they had been impregnated with Germanic life, adopted Christianity under the Byzantine form of worship. While these are, even at the present

moment, still in the background of national development, the Germanic nations, as Romanic and as pure Germanic, for a thousand years have borne the torch of the spirit; the former rather systematizing what had been delivered to them, the latter rather breaking through conventionality in order to penetrate to the free light of the independent spirit. Three centuries before the Romanic nations were driven to shake off by revolution an intolerable yoke of double tyranny, the Germanic strove by ecclesiastical reforms to restore the equilibrium between theology and life, not breaking with the past, but making its idea fructify the present, and securing thus a future truly imbued with Gospel principles. Whatever of real political liberty and of hope exists in the world is the fruit of that reform.

In the meantime, the contrasts which have been exhibited are so vast, that at the first glance Hippolytus and his contemporaries might seem to us unintelligible, and in some points ridiculous; and we certainly, with our state of things, should appear to them incomprehensible, and with our conventionalism very absurd, could they express an opinion upon us.

To bring out the internal connexion between the Christian views and theological ideas of the ancient Church, as contrasted with our own times and our state, is the design of that fiction with which the Fourth Volume opens. The "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ" and their Introduction complete the picture of the

age, and of its connexion as well as contrast with the post-Nicene period.

May the contributions here offered to the appreciation of a personal character which demands veneration, and of an age sinking indeed, but noble in its aspirations, and of high historical import, not be considered useless, nor at the same time fail in furnishing a mite of consolation and instruction for the sufferings of the present day, and a ray of light for the hopes of the future!

As to the special philosophical and historical results obtained by the researches of these reconstructive Volumes, I shall endeavour to point them out for the general reader in the following concluding words.

I have made, in the Text-Book itself and the Notes to it, for the first time, a complete collection of all that is genuine in the so-called Apostolical Ordinances, and, besides, of all the creeds, general liturgical forms, psalms, and hymns of the first three centuries (omitting only the canticles which occur in the canonical writings of the New Testament), and have submitted them to critical analysis and historical explanation. In like manner I have, for the first time, elucidated, with some success, the origin, and shown the gradual extension and interpolation, of the records of the earliest ecclesiastical law, called

the Apostolic Canon. Whatever is excluded from this collection is not genuine. Every Christian reader is now enabled to judge for himself of the value of certain opinions respecting the ancient Church: the critical scholar will find the original texts exhibited more correctly than in the works of Usher, Cotelerius, and others.

As to the Liturgies in the Fourth Volume, I have given and restored all which remains to us of genuine sacramental texts of the Eastern and Western Churches, from the second to the sixth century. I have, in particular, exhibited, restored, and explained the really ancient elements in the Liturgies of the Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, or in those of St. James, St. Mark, Cyril, Basil, and Chrysostom. I have endeavoured to reconstruct the ancient Gallican Liturgy, and have shown the Canon of the Roman Mass to be a patchwork, the original elements of which may be restored by a critical process.

As to modern times, I have given, in the Second Part of the Third Volume, a documentary view of the history and idea of the Christian sacrifice and Eucharistic service, according to the different epochs of the Liturgy of the Episcopal Churches of England, Scotland, and the United States.

Both Volumes are thus destined to make the picture of the ancient Church available to ourselves, and to hold it up as a mirror to our own age. For this

purpose I have therefore exposed the contrast which the Medieval, and in part the Protestant, Churches exhibit to that of the Apostolic age, and I have appealed to the Sacred Records as the Code, and to Christian conscience as to the judge. I have also reverently intimated on what basis a national and catholic restoration might be founded, and an organic development be prepared, of those elements of Christian constitution and worship and of the whole Christian life which the primitive Church exhibits to us.

There is no one of the practical questions of the day, either as regards the Church or our social relations, so far as they are influenced by Christianity, that I have not taken into consideration, and discussed in a spirit of moderation, but with uncompromising honesty and unreserved frankness.

On all these points I am prepared for misconstructions, contradictions, and attacks, from opposite quarters. Any author who in our times treats theological and ecclesiastical subjects frankly, and therefore with reference to the problems of the age, must expect to be ignored, and, if that cannot be done, abused and reviled. I shall, however, only notice such opponents as will discuss a sacred subject with an impartial love of truth, and who show themselves men of independent thought and of critical research. I shall quietly leave the others to their prejudices, and by silence reply to

such as enter into a philosophical discussion with the old cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" It is impossible, in our times, to have an independent opinion on those subjects, without critical study and calm deliberate consideration; and yet everybody thinks himself entitled to pronounce judgment upon them. But the time will come when they will be again made the objects of universal interest and popular research. All tends to that, in Germany from the philosophical, in England from the practical, point of view; and, in both, from a feeling of a great inward and outward necessity. Then it will be seen whether or not the way that I have indicated is the right one. Personally, it is perfectly indifferent to me whether I live to see this or not. I have neither written for my own personal gratification, nor for any party, either here or in Germany, nor for any fashion of the day. I have meditated and inquired from an earnest desire to discover truth, and to meet the wants of a confused and eventful age, which yearns after light and information; and I have said nothing which I have not thoroughly examined and tested for at least twenty-five years. Thus, while I shall not be scared by any dictatorial assertions, neither will any correction come unwelcome to me. Of the truth of the fundamental views which I have expressed, both here and throughout the work, and of the soundness of their philosophical and historical groundwork, I have as little doubt as I have of my own existence.

This applies, in particular, to my conviction that the question at this moment is not how to carry out, but how to prepare, a second, grand, reconstructive Reformation. The porch of the Temple must first be more thoroughly cleansed than it was in the sixteenth, and, above all, restored more honestly than it was in the seventeenth, century.; and, lastly, the work must be handled more practically than has yet been done by the critical German school of this age. In the meantime, let every one cleanse his own heart and house as well as he can. When the feeling of the misery which is coming, and a real faith in the saving truth which is in Christ, shall have thoroughly penetrated the nations, then will the Spirit of God assuredly come upon them with might, either for the reformation or the annihilation of the existing Churches. Whether this crisis will end in the renewal or in the destruction of the present nations and states, will depend upon the position they take in face of the demands of the Gospel, and the wants of the times. For every nation and age has its time and its day of visitation, after which its fate is sealed. This great movement, however, will assuredly not lead to the destruction of Christianity, but to its establishment on a firmer basis; not to the lowering of the person of Jesus of Nazareth, but to his greater glorification: and God's kingdom of Truth and Liberty on earth will advance as triumphantly over the perishing, as over the renovated kingdoms and states of the present world.

My belief in this future rests upon the following convictions, which have been considerably strengthened by, and seem to me naturally to flow from, the criticism of the work of Hippolytus and of his age; and which I consider as the final result of the comparison between ancient and modern Christianity and divinity founded upon that criticism.

Christianity is true, because free; and it is free and freeing, because true. Christianity is philosophically and historically true; and it could not be true, except by being so both by its thought and by its history. It is true, by the inexhaustible truth of the eternal thought which it manifests, and by the equally inexhaustible truth of the divine individuality upon which it rests, Jesus of Nazareth. It is true, by the genuineness and historical truth of the apostolic and evangelic accounts which we possess of this exalted individuality, and by the harmony of these records with the living tradition which accompanies it. This tradition is the Church, and the Church is christianized humanity; christianized by the Spirit of Christ, and by the Scripture which that Spirit produced.

The great proof of the divine nature and truth of Christianity is, its power of regenerating the world.

This regenerating power has shown itself twice, in an unparalleled world-renovating change produced by the spirit of Christianity: in the moral and intellectual revival of the ancient world, after the

downfal of the universal empire of Rome in the fifth Christian century; and by the moral, intellectual, and political revival of the modern world, after the downfal of the omnipotence of papal Rome in the sixteenth.

Whatever there exists of great, of hopeful, of redeeming, in the present state of the human race is the effect of Christ and Christianity. This is the true, progressive, and comforting fulfilment of all prophecies of Christ himself, and of His Apostles; and of all those prophetic words and deeds of the ancient world (principally, not exclusively, of the Jewish) which speak of a reign of truth and justice upon this earth.

The nations of Christendom, whether of the Greek and Roman, or of the national, that is to say, Protestant, communions, may live, and ought to live, by the side of each other in charity and peace: but they can only do so by virtue of the great principle of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and of the free political constitutions it has produced and is producing. For that great principle is the moral self-responsibility of each individual, founded upon personal faith in Christ and in his Spirit, reflected as both are by the conscience of the human breast, and by the reason of the human mind. This faith produces necessarily self-responsibility; self-responsibility produces, and virtually is, self-government: self-government renders possible, and works, political

liberty; and this political liberty is the only safeguard, as much as it is itself the fruit, of religious liberty. Both liberties together render material toleration possible without indifference, and prepare the age in which divine charity is to rule paramount over the world. Whoever idolizes the letter of Byzantine Christianity, and the system of medieval Divinity, breaks with the Church of the Apostles; he forfeits the Spirit of Christ, and falls out of that very communion with the ancient believers which he pretends to cherish. Whoever will attempt, whether out of fanaticism, or (which is more likely to be the case, and more condemnable) for political ends, to replace those systems upon the throne of the world, breaks with the present and with the future: and whoever seeks for the conservative element in the restoration of sacerdotal dominion over the conscience, and of priest-rule over national government, prepares not only great political revolutions, but also the entire downfal of the hierarchy itself. Those who have sown superstition have reaped, and are reaping, unbelief; as those who have sown despotism have reaped, and are reaping, anarchy. But those who will do so now, or in any time to come, will bring upon themselves, and, as far as in them lies, upon the world, a much greater convulsion and destruction than ever were witnessed since the downfal of the Roman empire.

I have to add a word respecting the English style of the Text-Books of the ancient Church. I have adhered throughout to the translations of Whiston and Tattam, except where the text rendered correction indispensable, and furnished the materials for making it. But, as I have already remarked in the Second Volume, the Coptic text is in many places so unintelligible, that nobody, without fresh critical study, can possibly make a thoroughly satisfactory translation of it. I have accordingly left Tattam's version, on the whole, as it was; although its defects have not escaped my notice. Let any one who is not satisfied with it give us a better text. Some obscure passages I have been enabled to explain in the Appendix to the Text-Book, by means of a Greek text recently discovered.

The Second Part of the Third Volume, or the interpretation of the Text-Books, with the exception of the Notes, was originally written in German. It has been put into English by my valued friend Mr. Cottrell, the translator of the First Volume of my "Egypt;" but, in finally revising it, I have here and there made such additions and alterations as I thought would render my ideas more intelligible to the English reader.

London, April 22. 1852.

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PART I.

CHURCH- AND HOUSE-BOOK

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AND

LAW-BOOK

OF

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THE

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The Order and Formularies of the Service: or, the Christian Sacrifice and Worship, and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

Rules of general Christian Conduct for all Members of the Congregation: or, the domestic, congregational, and social Life of the early Christians.

FIRST BOOK.

THE RECEPTION, THE INSTRUCTION, THE PLEDGE, AND THE ADMISSION

OF

The Catechumens:

OR,

THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION AND THE BAPTISM OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

THIS BOOK CONTAINETH:

I. How they who require to be instructed are to be examined before they are admitted.
II. How they who are admitted are instructed.
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Book I.

I. *How they who require to be instructed are to be examined before they are admitted.*

THOSE that first come to the Mystery of Godliness, let them be brought to the Bishop, or to the Presbyters, [by the Deacons,] and let them be examined as to the causes wherefore they come to the Word of the Lord: and let those who bring them exactly inquire about their Character, and give them their Testimony. Let their manners, and their life, be inquired into; and whether they be Slaves or Freemen: and if any one be a Slave, let him be asked who is his master. If he be Slave to one of the Believers, let his master be asked if he can give him a good character. If he cannot, let him be rejected until he show himself to be worthy to his master: but if he does give him a good character, let him be admitted. But if he be Slave to an Heathen, let him be taught to please his master, *that the Word be not blasphemed.* If then he have a wife, or a Woman

hath a husband, let them be taught to be content with each other, and to live soberly; but if they be unmarried, let them learn not to commit fornication, but to enter into lawful marriage; but if his Master be one of the faithful, and knows that he is guilty of fornication, and yet does not give him a wife, or to the Woman an husband, let him be separated.

But if any one hath a Demon, let him indeed be taught Godliness, but not received into communion before he be cleansed; yet if death be near, let him be received.

If any one be a Maintainer of Harlots, let him either leave off to prostitute women, or else let him be rejected.

If a Whore come, let her leave off whoredom, or else let her be rejected.

If a Maker of Idols come, let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected.

If one belonging to the Theatre come, whether it be man or woman, or a charioteer, or a fighter in single combat, or a racer, or an exhibitor of a show of gladiators, or an Olympic gamester, or one that plays on the flute or on the lute at these games, or a dancing-master, or a keeper of a public house, either let them leave off their employments, or let them be rejected.

If a Soldier come, let him be taught to *do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content*

with his allotted stipend; if he submit to these rules let him be received, but if he refuse them, let him be rejected.

He that is guilty of Sins not to be named, a sodomite, an effeminate person, a magician, an enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, an user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, one that makes amulets, a charmer, a soothsayer, a fortune-teller, an observer of palmistry, he that when he meets you observes defects in the eyes, or feet of the birds, or cats, or noises, or symbolical sounds; let these be proved for some time, for this sort of wickedness is hard to be washed away; and if they leave off those practices, let them be received, but if they will not agree to that, let them be rejected.

Let a Concubine, who is servant to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected.

If one of the Believers hath a Concubine, if she be a bond-servant, let him leave off that way, and contract a legal matrimony; if she be a free woman, let him marry her in a lawful manner; if he doth not, let him be rejected; if she liveth with a believing Servant, let her leave off, or be rejected.

He that followeth the Gentile Customs, or Jewish Fables, either let him reform, or let him be rejected.

If any one followeth the Sports of the Theatre, their huntings, or horse-races, or combats, either let him leave them off, or let him be rejected. (Greek Constitut. book VIII. Compare Copt. Can. book III. can. 4.)

If we have omitted anything, the circumstances will teach you, for we have all the Spirit of God. (Copt. Can. conclusion of can. 41.)

II. *How they who are admitted are instructed.*

HE who is to be catechized, let him be catechized Three Years: but if any one be diligent, and has a good will to his business, let him be admitted; for it is not the Length of Time, but the Course of Life that is judged. (Greek Const. book VIII.; Copt. Can. II. 42.)

He that teacheth, although he be one of the Laity, yet if he be skilful in the Word, and grave in his manners, let him teach; for, *they shall be all taught of God.* (Greek Const. book VIII.)

III. *The Moral Catechism, or the Doctrine of the Two Ways.*

THERE are two ways, one is the Way of Life, and the other is the Way of Death: and there is much difference in these two ways. But the Way of Life is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, who created thee, and thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death; for this is the first Commandment.

But the second is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two Commandments hang the Law and the Prophets.

Every thing that thou wouldest not should be done to thee, that do not thou also to another; that is, what thou hatest do not to another.

Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not pollute a youth; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be a sorcerer; thou shalt not use divination; thou shalt not cause a woman to miscarry, neither if she has brought forth a child shalt thou kill it; thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbour's; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil of any one, neither shalt thou think evil; thou shalt not be double-minded, neither shalt thou be double-tongued, for a double tongue is a snare of

death; thy speech shall not be vain, neither tending to a lie; thou shalt not be covetous, neither rapacious, nor an hypocrite, nor of an evil heart, nor proud; thou shalt not speak an evil word against thy neighbour; thou shalt not hate any man, but thou shalt reprove some, and shalt have mercy upon others; thou shalt pray for some, and shalt love others as thy own soul.

My Son, flee from all Evil, and hate all Evil. Be not angry, because Anger leads to Murder, for Anger is an evil Demon. Be not emulous, neither be contentious, nor quarrelsome, for Envy proceeds from these.

My Son, be not of unlawful Desires, because Desire leadeth to Fornication, drawing men to it involuntarily; for Lust is a Demon. For if the evil Spirit of Anger is united with that of Lust, they destroy those who shall receive them. And the Way of the evil Spirit is the Sin of the Soul. For when he spyeth a little way, quietly entering in he will make the way broad; and he will take with him all other evil Spirits; he will go to that Soul and will not leave the man to meditate at all, lest he should see the truth. Let a Restraint be put upon your Anger, and curb it with not a little care, that you may cast it behind you, lest it should precipitate you into some evil deed. For Wrath and evil Desire, if they be suffered always to

remain, are Demons. And when they have Dominion over a man they change him in Soul, that he may be prepared for a great deed: and when they have led him into unrighteous acts, they deride him, and will rejoice in the destruction of that man.

My Son, be not the Utterer of an evil Expression, nor of Obscenity, neither be thou haughty, for of these things come Adulteries.

My Son, be not a Diviner, for Divination leadeth to Idolatry; neither be thou an Enchanter, nor an Astrologer, nor a Magician, nor an Idolater; neither teach them nor hear them; for from these things proceedeth Idolatry.

My Son, be not a Liar, because a Falsehood leadeth to Blasphemy. Neither be thou a Lover of Silver nor a Lover of Vainglory, for from these Thefts arise.

My Son, be not a Murmurer, because Repining leadeth a man to Blasphemy. Be thou not harsh, nor a thinker of evil, for of all these things Contentions are begotten. But be thou meek, for the Meek shall inherit the earth. And be thou also merciful, peaceable, compassionate, cleansed in thy heart from all evil. Be thou sincere, gentle, good; trembling at the words of God, which thou hast heard, and do thou keep them. Do not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou give thy heart to pride, but thou shalt increase more and more with the just and humble. Every

Evil which cometh upon thee receive as Good, knowing that nothing shall come upon thee but from God.

My Son, he who declareth to thee the Word of God, and hath been the cause of life to thee, and hath given to thee the holy Seal which is in the Lord, thou shalt love him as the apple of thine eyes, and remember him by night and day: thou shalt honour him as of the Lord: for in that place in which the word of power is, there is the Lord; and thou shalt seek his face daily, him, and those who remain of the Saints, that thou mayest rest thee on their words: for he who is united to the Saints shall be holy.

Thou shalt honour him according to thy power, by the Sweat of thy Brow, and by the Labour of thy Hands: for if the Lord hath made thee meet that he might impart to thee spiritual food, and spiritual drink, and eternal life, by him; it becometh thee also the more, that thou shouldest impart to him the food which perisheth and is temporal; for the Labourer is worthy of his Hire. For it is written: Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; neither doth any one plant a vineyard and not eat of the fruit thereof.

Thou shalt not cause Schisms: thou shalt reconcile in peace those who contend with one another. Judge in Righteousness without acceptation of Persons. Re-

prove him who hath sinned, for his Sin. Suffer not Wealth to prevail before God, neither justify the Unworthy, for beauty profiteth not; but righteous judgment before all. Doubt not in thy Prayer, thinking whether what thou hast asked of Him will be or not. Let it not, indeed, be, that when thou receivest thou stretchest out thine hand, but when thou shouldest give thou drawest thy hand to thee. But if thou hast at hand, thou shalt give for the Redemption of thy Sins. . Thou shalt not doubt, thou shalt give; neither when thou hast given shalt thou murmur, knowing there is a reward of God. Thou shalt not turn away from the Needy, but shalt communicate with the Needy in all things: thou shalt not say, these things are mine alone. If ye communicate with one another in those things which are incorruptible, how much rather should ye not do it in those things which are corruptible?

I beseech you, my Brethren, while you have time, and he who asketh remains with you, if you are able to do good to them, do not fail in any thing to any one, which you have the power to do.

For the Day of the Lord draweth nigh, in which every thing that is seen shall be dissolved, and the Wicked shall be destroyed with it; for the Lord cometh, and his reward is with him.

Be ye Lawgivers to your own selves; be ye

Teachers to yourselves alone, as God hath taught you. Thou shalt keep those things which thou hast received; thou shalt not take from them, neither shalt thou add to them. (Introduction to the Coptic Canons, book I.)

IV. *How, after the first Course of Instruction, the Catechumens undergo an Examination, and their Conduct is investigated before they are admitted to hear the Gospel, and how long their Instruction is to last.*

WHEN they have chosen those appointed to receive Baptism, let their Life be inquired into, whether they have lived in Chastity during the time of being Catechumens: whether they have honoured the Widows; whether they have visited the Sick; whether they have fulfilled every good work. And if those who have introduced them have witnessed to them that they have done thus, let them hear the Gospel. Let the Catechumens be Three Years hearing the Word; but if one hath been diligent and persevereth well in the work, the Time shall not decide, but the Application alone shall entirely decide it. (Copt. Can. b. II. 45ª. 42.)

V. *How they are dismissed with a Blessing, after the Sermon.*

WHEN the Teacher hath ended the Sermon, let the Catechumens pray by themselves apart, and the faithful apart. And let the Women stand praying in a place in the Church, apart by themselves, whether the faithful women or the women Catechumens. And when they conclude praying, let them not give the Salutation (Peace) before they are pure.

Let the Believers salute one another, the men with the men alone, and the women with the women. But let not a man salute a woman. And let all the Women not cover their heads with a costly Veil, but with a fine cloth of cotton alone, for this is their veil.

When the Teacher after the Prayer shall lay his hands upon the Catechumens, let him pray, dismissing them; whether he be an Ecclesiastic or a Layman who delivereth it, let him do so. (Copt. Can. b. II. 43, 44.)

VI. *The ancient Prayers of the Church of Antioch for the Catechumens, as recorded by St. Chrysostom.*

(The Catechumens pray silently, the Congregation standeth.)

LET us pray earnestly for the Catechumens, that the all-loving and all-merciful God may hear their Prayer: that He may open the ears of their hearts, in order that they may perceive what no eye hath seen, no ear hath heard, and what is not come into the heart of any one (1 Cor. ii. 9.): that He may teach them the word of truth, and that He may sow in their hearts the seed of the fear of God: that He may strengthen the faith in their hearts: that He may reveal to them the Gospel of righteousness: that He may give them a godlike mind, pure thoughts, and a virtuous life, always to think what is of God, to meditate what is of God, to care for what is of God.

Let us pray still more earnestly for them: that He may preserve them from every evil and wicked deed, from every devilish sin, and from every deceit of the enemy: that He may make them worthy, at due time, of the laver of regeneration and of the forgiveness of sins: that He may bless their going in and their going out, their whole life, their houses, and

their families: that He may increase and bless their children, that He may bring them to the right age, and make them wise: that He may thus direct all which they propose to do, as may be most expedient for them.

The Deacon to the Catechumens:

Rise!

Address to the standing Catechumens:

Pray for the Angel of Peace, ye Catechumens, that what you propose may be fulfilled in peace.

Pray that this day and all the days of your life may be peaceful, and that your end may be Christian.

Recommend yourselves to the living God and to His Christ.

Bend your heads.

(*They receive the blessing: the whole congregation saying:* Amen.)

(St. Chrysost. 2d Homily on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.)

VII. *That a Catechumen who suffereth Death for the Faith, hath received Baptism in his Blood.*

IF a Catechumen has been apprehended for the Name of the Lord, let him not hesitate to give the Testimony; for if they have taken him by violence

that they may kill him, he will be justified and receive the Forgiveness of his Sins; for he will have received Baptism in his own Blood. (Copt. Can. b. II. 44.)

VIII. *How after the Course of Instruction has terminated, those Catechumens who are to be admitted are separated and sealed for being baptized at Easter.*

AND when they shall be separated, let them lay hands upon them on that day, exorcising them.

And when the day approacheth on which they shall be baptized, let the Bishop exorcise each one of them, that he may know that they are pure. But if any one is not good, or is not clean, let them put him apart, that he may not hear the Word with the Believers; for it is not possible that a stranger can ever be concealed. Let them teach those appointed for Baptism that they should wash and be made free; that they should be made so on the fifth Sabbath (viz. on the Saturday in the fifth week of Lent, the Saturday before Palm Sunday).

Let them, who are to receive Baptism, fast on the Preparation of the Sabbath (Friday). But on the Sabbath, when those who shall receive have been gathered together in one place, by the advice of the Bishop,

let them all be commanded to pray and to kneel; and when he hath laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every strange Spirit to flee from them, and not to return into them from that time. And when he hath finished exorcising, let him breathe on them; and when he hath sealed their foreheads, and their ears, and the opening of their mouths, let him raise them up; and let them watch all the night, reading to them, and exhorting them. And let those who shall receive Baptism not take any thing but that alone, which each one shall bring in for the Thanksgiving; for it is becoming him who is worthy, that he should bring in his Offering immediately. (Copt. Can. b. II. 45[b].)

IX. *How the Water is to be prepared, and the general Order of Baptism.*

AND at the time of the Crowing of the Cock let them first pray over the Water. Let the Water be drawn into the font, or flow into it. And let it be thus, if they have no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the Water which shall be found into the font; and let them undress themselves, and the Young shall be first baptized. And after the adult Men have been baptized, at the last

the Women, having loosed all their hair, and having laid aside their ornaments of gold and silver which were on them. Let not any one take a strange garment with him into the Water. (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

X. *How the Oil for the Anointing is prepared.*

AND at the time which is appointed for the Baptism let the Bishop give thanks over the Oil, which, putting into a vessel, he shall call the Oil of Thanksgiving. Again, he shall take other Oil, and exorcising over it, he shall call it the Oil of Exorcism. And a Deacon shall bear the Oil of Exorcism, and stand on the left hand of the Presbyter. Another Deacon shall take the Oil of Thanksgiving, and stand on the right hand of the Presbyter. (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

XI. *How they are to renounce Satan and be anointed: and then say the Creed.*

AND when the Presbyter has taken hold of each one of those who are about to receive Baptism, let him command him to renounce, saying: "I will renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service, and all thy

works." And when he has renounced all these, let him anoint him with the Oil of Exorcism, saying: "Let every Spirit depart from thee." And let the Bishop or the Presbyter receive him thus undressed, to place him in the Water of Baptism. Also let the Deacon go with him into the Water, and let him say to him, helping him that he may say: "I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and in His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the quickener."

And let him who receiveth Baptism repeat after all these: "I believe thus." And he who bestoweth it shall lay his hand upon the head of him who receiveth, dipping him Three Times, confessing these things each time. And afterwards let him say again: "Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father; that he became man in a wonderful manner for us, in an incomprehensible unity, by his Holy Spirit, of Mary the Holy Virgin, without the seed of man, and that he was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and died of his own will once for our Redemption, and rose on the third day, loosing the bands of Death; that he ascended up into Heaven, and sate on the right hand of his good Father on high, and that he cometh again to judge the Living and the Dead at the appearing of Him and his kingdom? And dost thou believe in the Holy

good Spirit, and quickener, who wholly purifieth in the Holy Church?" Let him again say: "I believe." (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

XII. *How they are anointed by the Presbyter, and clothed and conducted into the Church.*

AND let them go up out of the Water, and the Presbyter shall anoint him with the Oil of Thanksgiving: saying, "I anoint thee with holy anointing oil, in the name of Jesus Christ." Thus he shall anoint every one of the rest, and clothe them as the rest, and they shall enter into the Church. (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

XIII. *How the Bishop and the Elders bless and anoint the Heads of the Catechumens with the Chrism; and how the Baptized give the Peace.*

LET the Bishop lay his hand upon them with affection, saying: "Lord God, as thou hast made these worthy to receive the forgiveness of their sins in the world to come, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them thy grace,

that they may serve thee according to thy will, for Thine is the glory, *thou who art* the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, now and always, and for ever and ever." And he shall pour of the Oil of Thanksgiving in his hand, and put his hand upon the head of each, saying: "I anoint *thee* with *the holy anointing* oil, from God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." And he shall seal upon his forehead, saluting him. And he shall say: "The Lord be with thee." He, who hath been sealed, shall answer: "And with thy spirit." Each one (of the Presbyters) doing thus with the remaining. And let all the People pray together. And all those who receive Baptism shall be praying; let them say Peace with their mouths. (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

XIV. *How they receive the Eucharist and the Milk and Honey.*

LET the Deacons bring the Eucharist to the Bishop, and he shall give thanks over the Bread, because of the similitude of the Flesh of Christ, and over the Cup of Wine, because it is the Blood of Christ, which was poured out for every one who believeth on him; and Milk and Honey mixed, for

fulfilling the Promises to the Fathers, because he hath said: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." This is the Flesh of Christ, which was given for us, that those who believe on him should be nourished by it as Infants; that Bitterness of Heart may be dissipated by the Sweetness of the Word. All these things the Bishop shall discourse to those who shall receive Baptism.

And when the Bishop hath divided the Bread, let him give a portion to each of them, saying: "This is the Bread of heaven, the Body of Christ Jesus." Let him who receiveth it answer: "Amen."

And if there are not more Presbyters there, let the Deacons take the Cup, and they shall stand in order, that they may give them the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord, and the Milk, and the Honey. Let him who giveth the Cup say: "This is the Blood of Christ Jesus our Lord;" and he who receiveth it again shall answer: "Amen."

And when these things have been done, let every one hasten to do all good things, and to please God, and to take care to live in integrity, being diligent in the Church, doing those things which they have been taught, proceeding in the service of God. (Copt. Can. b. II. 46.)

APPENDIX.

I.

Different Forms of the Creed.

1.

According to the Church of Rome.

I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty:
And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord:
Who was by the Holy Ghost born of the Virgin Mary,
Suffered under Pontius Pilate,
Was crucified and buried,
The third day he rose again from the Dead,
He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father,
From thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.
I believe in the Holy Ghost:
The holy Church:
The Forgiveness of Sins:
The Resurrection of the Body. Amen.

2.

According to the Seventh Book of the Greek Constitutions (doubtful).

I BELIEVE in one, uncreated, the only true, Almighty God the Father of Christ:
Creator and Maker of all things:
And in the Lord Jesus Christ,
his only-begotten Son
the First-born of the whole Creation [not created]
who before the Ages was begotten
by the good will of the Father
by whom all things are made in Heaven and on Earth, visible and invisible:
who in the last Days descended from Heaven and took Flesh,
and was born of the holy Virgin Mary:
and conversed holily according to the Laws of his God and Father,
and was crucified under Pontius Pilate,
and died for us,
and after he had suffered rose the third Day from the Dead,

ascended into Heaven,
and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
and again is to come with Glory
in the Consummation of Time
to judge the Quick and the Dead
of whose Kingdom there will be no end:
And in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter,
who wrought in all the holy Men from the beginning of the World,
and afterwards was sent to the Apostles
by the Father, according to the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ,
and after the Apostles to all Believers:
And in the holy Catholic Church,
in the Resurrection of the Flesh,
in the Remission of the Sins,
in the Kingdom of Heaven,
and in the Life of the World to come.

II.

An Ordinance that the Baptized is to say aloud the Lord's Prayer, as Priest, before the People.

LET him pray as a Son to the Father, and say, as if speaking in the name of all the Christian Congregation present:

Our Father which art in Heaven: hallowed be thy Name: thy Kingdom come: thy Will be done in Earth as it is done in Heaven: give us this Day our daily Bread: and forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors: and lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil: for thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory now and for ever. Amen.

(Greek Const. book III. 17.)

III.

The Order of Baptism in the Church of Jerusalem, as recorded by Cyril, in his Sermons to the newly Baptized (Catecheses Mystag. I. III.), *preached in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, about* 350 *or* 360.

YOU went first into the Porch (the Baptistery), and, being placed towards the West, you heard the Command, to stretch out your hands, and to renounce Satan, as if he was present . . . . and to say: I renounce Satan . . . . and all his Works . . . . and all his Pomp, and all his Service.

After this thou wast turned towards the East, and wast ordered to say: I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in a Baptism of repentance.

All this was done in the Porch. But when you were entered into the inner house, you took off your garment: and thus you were anointed with the Holy Oil from the top of the Head to the sole of the Feet. . . . Then you were conducted to the Font of the Holy Baptism, and every one of you was asked:

whether he believed in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost? And you made the sound Confession of Faith, and were three times immersed into the Water. . . .

SECOND BOOK.

The Constitution of the early Church.

THIS BOOK CONTAINETH:

A. *The First Set of Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy.* — Coptic Collection, first book; and Ethiopic Collection.

I. How a Bishop is to be elected, and what is required of him.

II. That the Bishop is to ordain two, or rather three, Presbyters.

III. How the Reader is to be proved, and what is required of him.

IV[a]. How the Deacon is to be proved, and what is required of him.

IV[b]. Additional Ordinances respecting the Deacons.

V. How three Widows are to be appointed, and what are their duties.

VI. For what purpose Deaconesses are to be appointed.

B. *The*

B. *The Second Set of Ordinances of the Church of Alexdria respecting the Clergy.*— Coptic Collection, second book.

I. How a Bishop is to be elected and ordained, and how he is to say the Thanksgiving.
I*. The same, according to the Ethiopic Collection.
II*. How a Presbyter is to be ordained, according to the Ethiopic Collection.
II. The same, according to the Coptic Collection.
III. How a Deacon is to be appointed, and what is his Office.
IV. In what a Presbyter differeth from an Elder.
V. That a Confessor needeth no Ordination to become Deacon or Presbyter.
VI. How a Reader is to be appointed.
VII. How Widows are to be appointed.
VIII. How Virgins are to be appointed.
IX. What is to be done with him who hath the Gifts of Healing.

C. *The Third Set of Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy.* — Coptic Collection, fourth book.

I. How a Bishop is to be elected, proved, and ordained.
II. How the Bishop is to ordain a Presbyter or Deacon.
III. How he is to appoint [Subdeacons and] Readers and Deaconesses.

IV. That a Confessor needeth no Ordination, unless made a Bishop.
V. Against arrogant and presumptuous Confessors.
VI. Virgins not to be ordained.
VII. Precautions in the Appointment of Widows.
VIII. Precautions as to persons who have the Gift of Healing the Possessed.
IX. Additional Ordinance as to the case of a Bishop having been ordained by one Bishop only.
X. General Definitions of the peculiar Right and Power of the different Members of the Clergy.

APPENDIX.

A. The Requisites and Duties of a Bishop according to the Third Book of the Greek Apostolical Constitutions.
B. On the Marriage of Clergy.

Book II.

A.

THE FIRST SET

OF

Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy.

(Coptic Collection, first book; Ethiopic Collection.)

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected, and what is required of him.*

IF there should be a Place having a few faithful Men in it, before the multitude increase, who shall be able to make a Dedication to pious Uses for the Bishop, to the extent of Twelve Men, let them write to the Churches round about the place, in which the multitude of the Believers (assemble and) are established.

That Three chosen Men in that Place may come, that they may examine with diligence him who has been thought worthy of this Degree, whether he have a good Reputation among the People, as being guiltless, without anger, a lover of the poor, prudent, wise, not given to wine, not a fornicator, not covetous, not a contemner, not partial, and the like of these things.

If he have not a Wife it is a good thing; but if he have married a Wife, having Children, let him abide with her, continuing steadfast in every doctrine, able to explain the Scriptures well; but if he be ignorant of Literature, let him be meek; let him abound in Love towards every Man, lest they should accuse the Bishop in any affair, and he should be at all culpable. (Copt. Coll. book I. can. 16.)

II. *That the Bishop is to ordain Two, or rather Three, Presbyters.*

IF the Bishop whom they shall appoint hath attended to the Knowledge and Patience of the Love of God with those with him, let him ordain Two Presbyters when he hath examined them, or rather Three.

It behoveth the Presbyters that they should live

in the World, after the manner of old Men, removing far off, that they should not touch a woman, being charitable, lovers of the brethren; that they should not accept persons, being partakers of the holy mysteries with the Bishop, assisting in all things, collecting the multitude together, that they may love their Shepherd. And the Presbyters on the Right Hand have the care of those who labour at the Altar, that they should honour those who are worthy of all honour, and rebuke those who merit their rebuke. The Presbyters on the Left Hand shall have the care of the People, that they may be upright, that no one may be disturbed. And they shall instruct them that they should be in all subjection. But when they have instructed one, answering contumaciously, those within the Altar should be of one heart, and one mind, that they may receive the reward of that honour according to its desert. And all the rest shall fear lest they should deviate, and one of them should become changed like one wasting away, and all should be brought into captivity. (Copt. Can. 17, 18.)

III. *How the Reader is to be proved, and what is required of him.*

THE Reader shall be appointed after he hath been fully proved; one who bridleth his tongue, not a drunkard, not a derider in his speech, but decorous in his appearance; obedient, being the first to congregate on the Lord's Day; a Servant knowing what is meet for him, that he may fulfil the Work of publishing the Gospel. For he who filleth the Ears of others with his Doctrines, it becometh him the more that he should be a faithful Workman before God. (Copt. Can. 19.)

IV[a]. *How the Deacon is to be proved, and what is required of him.*

LET the Deacons be appointed by Three testifying to their Life. For it is written: "By the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." Let them be proved in every Service, all the People bearing witness to them, that they have resided with one wife, have brought up their children well, being humble, prudent, meek, sober, quiet; not vehement, nor murmurers; not double-tongued, nor wrathful, for wrath destroyeth the wise; nor

hypocrites. They shall not afflict the Poor, neither shall they accept the persons of the Rich; they shall not be drinkers of much wine, being ready to act in every good service in secret. Cheerful in their habitations, constraining the Brethren who have, that they should open their hand to give. And they also being givers, the goods being in common, that the People may honour them with all honour, and all fear, beseeching with great earnestness those who walk in dissimulation. And some they should teach, and some they should rebuke, but the rest they should prohibit. But let those who despise, and the contumacious, be cast out, knowing that all Men who are vehement or slanderers fight against Christ. (Copt. Can. 20.)

IV[b]. *Additional Ordinance respecting the Deacons.*

LET the Deacons be doers of good Works, drawing near by day and night in every place. They must not exalt themselves above the Poor, neither must they accept the persons of the Rich. They shall know the Afflicted, that they may give to him out of their store of Provisions; constraining those who are able for good works to gather them in, attending to the words of our Master: "I was an hungered, and

ye gave me meat." For those who have ministered without Sin, gain for themselves much Confidence. (Copt. Can. 22.)

V. *How three Widows are to be appointed, and what are their Duties.*

LET three Widows be appointed; two that they may give their whole attention to prayer for every one who is in temptations, and that they may render thanks to Him whom they follow. But the other one should be left constantly with the women who are tried in sickness, ministering well; watching and telling to the Presbyter the things which take place. Not a lover of filthy lucre; not given to drink: that she may be able to watch, that she may minister in the night. And if another desireth to help to do good works, let her do so according to the pleasure of her heart; for these are the good things which the Lord first commanded. (Copt. Can. 21.)

VI. *For what Purpose Deaconesses are to be appointed.*

CHRIST gave no place for the Women, that they might help at the Altar. Martha said of Mary: "See how she laughs." Mary said: "I laughed not; but he said to us, teaching, that the weak shall be liberated by the strong."

Some say, it becometh the Women to pray standing, and that they should not cast themselves down upon the Earth.

Women are not to be appointed for a Service, besides this Service only, that they assist the Indigent. (Copt. Can. 26—28.)

B.

THE SECOND SET

OF

Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy.

(Coptic Collection, second book.)

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected and ordained, and how he is to say the Thanksgiving.*

A BISHOP shall be ordained who hath been chosen by all the People and is blameless. When the name of this one hath been named and they have agreed, all the People shall assemble together, and the Presbyters and Deacons, on the Lord's Day, all the Bishops consenting; and the Presbyters standing quietly, and they all being silent together, they shall pray in their heart that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him. And he who is worthy out of the Bishops, every one standing, putteth his hand upon him whom they have made a Bishop, praying over him. And when he is made a Bishop, let all give the Salutation of Peace to him, saluting him with

the mouth. And let the Deacons present the Holy Communion to him. And he, when he hath put his hand upon the Eucharist with the Presbyters, let him say the Thanksgiving: "The Lord be with you all." Let all the People say: "And with thy spirit." He shall say: "Lift up your hearts." The People shall say: "We have them to the Lord." He shall say again: "Let us give thanks to the Lord." All the People shall say: "(It is) worthy and just." And let him pray thus, saying the (Prayers) following these, according to the custom of the Holy Communion. (Copt. Coll. book II. can. 31.)

I*. *The same, according to the Ethiopic Collection.*

THE Bishop shall be chosen by all the People. He must be without blame, as it is written in the Apostle (Epistle to Timothy). In the week in which he is to be ordained, if all the People say of him, "We choose him," he is not to be molested. And they shall pray over him, and say: "O God, show Thy love to this man whom Thou hast prepared for us." And they shall choose one of the Bishops and one of the Presbyters; and they shall lay their hands upon his head and pray. (Ethiopic Coll. can. 2.)

II*. *How a Presbyter is to be ordained, according to that same Ethiopic Collection.*

WHEN a Presbyter is to be ordained, there shall be done to him in every respect as is done to a Bishop, except placing him on the Cathedra, and they shall pray over him all the Prayers of the Bishop, except the name of the Bishop only; and the Presbyter shall equal the Bishop in every thing except the name of the Cathedra and of Ordination. For he hath not given to him the power of Ordination. (The same, can. 4.)

II. *The same, according to the Coptic Collection.*

AND when the Bishop shall ordain a Presbyter, he shall put his hands upon his head, and all the Presbyters shall touch him. And let him pray over him, according to the form which we have spoken of concerning the Bishops. (Copt. Can. 32.)

III. *How a Deacon is to be appointed, and what is his Office.*

AND the Bishop shall appoint a Deacon who hath been chosen: the Bishop alone shall lay his hands on him: because he shall not be ordained for the Priesthood but for the service of the Bishop, that he may do those things which he shall command him. Neither shall he be appointed, that he may be of the Council of all the Clergy, but that he may take care of the Sick, and he shall make them known to the Bishop. Neither shall he be appointed that he may receive the Spirit of Greatness which the Presbyters shall receive, but that he may be worthy that the Bishop may believe him in those things which it behoveth him. On this account the Bishop alone shall ordain the Deacon. (Copt. Can. 33[a].)

IV. *In what a Bishop differs from an Elder.*

BUT the Bishop shall ordain the Presbyter. He shall lay the hand on him, because that same Spirit cometh upon him: for the Presbyter receiveth it only, he hath not power to give it to the Clergy; therefore he will not be able to appoint the Clergy.

The Presbyter is only sealing (is only able to baptize and give the Spirit to the Baptized in anointing him), the Bishop shall ordain him. (Copt. Can. 33[b].)

V. *That a Confessor needeth no Ordination to become Deacon or Presbyter.*

BUT if the Confessor hath been in Bonds for the name of the Lord, they shall not lay hands on him for the service (of Deacons), or for the office of Presbyter, for he hath the honour of Eldership by his Confession. But if they will appoint him for a Bishop, they shall lay hands on him. But if he is a Confessor, he shall not have been taken in before the Authorities; neither shall he have been punished with Bonds; neither shall he have been cast into Prison; neither shall he have been condemned in any Injustice. But according to the Word, because he hath been reviled alone for the name of our Lord, and hath been punished with Punishment in a House, and hath confessed, he is worthy of every Sacerdotal Office from them, they shall lay hands on him, and every one shall pray according to his ability. But if he is able to pray suitably, and the Prayer acceptable, it is good. But if, when he again prayeth, he sendeth

forth a Prayer in (a certain) measure, no one forbidding him, let him only pray entirely in a right Faith. (Copt. Can. 34.)

VI. *How a Reader is to be appointed.*

THE Reader shall be appointed. The Bishop shall give him the Book of the Apostles, and shall pray over him, but he shall not lay his hand upon him. (Copt. Can. 35.)

VII. *How Widows are to be appointed.*

BUT when a Widow is appointed, she shall not be ordained, but she shall be chosen by Name; and if her Husband hath been dead for a long time, let her be appointed. But if she hath not delayed from the Death of her Husband, believe her not. But if she hath become old, let her be proved for a time; for often even the Passion long surviveth, and will have place in them.

Let a Widow be appointed by Word only. She shall be united with the rest. They shall not lay hands on her, because she shall not put on the Eucharist, neither shall she perform Public Service.

But Imposition of Hands shall be with the Clergy for the Ministry. But the Widow is appointed for Prayer, and that is of all. (Copt. Can. 37.)

VIII. *How Virgins are to be appointed.*

THERE shall be no Imposition of Hands on a Virgin; for it is her Choice alone that maketh her a Virgin. (Copt. Can. 38.)

IX. *What is to be done with him who hath the Gifts of Healing.*

IF one shall say, "I have received the Gifts of Healing by a revelation," they shall not lay hands on him; for the thing itself will be manifest if he speak truth. (Copt. Can. 39.)

C.

THE THIRD SET

OF

Ordinances of the Church of Alexandria respecting the Clergy.

(Coptic Collection, fourth book.)

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected, proved, and ordained.*

IT is necessary that a Bishop should be ordained; first being chosen, being a holy Person, approved in all things, chosen by all the People; and when he hath been named and approved, let all the People, and the Presbyters, and the honoured Bishops assemble together on the Lord's Day, and let the principal among them ask the Presbyters and all the People: "Is this the Man whom ye desire for a Ruler?" And if they shall say, "Yes, this is he in truth," let him ask them again: "Do ye all bear witness to him, that he is worthy of this great, honourable, and holy Authority? and whether he hath been pure in the piety which he hath towards God? And whether he observeth justice towards all men? And whether

he governeth his own house well? And whether his whole life hath been blameless, and he hath not been apprehended in any thing, neither those of his house?"

And if they all together have witnessed that he is such an one according to the truth, and not according to favour, God the Father, and his only-begotten son Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Spirit being judge that these things are so; let them be asked the third time, if he be worthy of this great Service, of this Sacrifice, "That out of the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established:" and if they shall say the third time that he is worthy, let their Votes be received from them all; and when they have given these cheerfully, let them be silent and quiet. And one of the principal Bishops shall take with him two other Bishops, all the Bishops standing near the Altar, praying in silence with the Presbyters; all the Deacons also holding the holy Gospels spread open upon the head of him who is to be ordained, the Bishop praying to God over him. And when he hath finished praying over him, let one of the Bishops place the Oblation upon the hands of him who is ordained, and let the Bishops place him upon the Throne which becometh him. (Copt. Can. 65.)

II. *How the Bishop is to ordain a Presbyter or Deacon.*

WHEN thou, O Bishop, ordainest a *Presbyter*, lay thy hand upon his head, all the Presbyters standing, and the Deacons praying, ordaining him. Thou shalt also ordain the Deacon according to this first Ordination. (Copt. Can. 67[a].)

III. *How he is to appoint Subdeacons, and Readers, and Deaconesses.*

AND concerning the Subdeacons, and Readers, and Deaconesses, it is not necessary to ordain them. (Can. 67[b].)

IV. *That a Confessor needeth no Ordination, unless made a Bishop.*

ORDAIN not the *Confessor*, for this thing is of his Choice and Patience; for he is worthy of a great honour, as he who hath confessed the name of God and his Son, before Kings and Nations. But if there shall be occasion that he should be made a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, let him be ordained. (Can. 68[a].)

V. *Against arrogant and presumptuous Confessors.*

IF a Confessor who hath not been ordained hath seized for himself the Dignity, on account of the Confession, let him be anathematized; for he is not one since he hath denied the Command of Christ, and "hath become worse than an Infidel." (Can. 68[b].)

VI. *Virgins not to be ordained.*

LET not a *Virgin* be ordained, for we have no Command from the Lord. For this struggle is her choice, and is not for the reproach of Marriage, but for the leisure of serving God. (Can. 69.)

VII. *Precautions in the Appointment of Widows.*

A *WIDOW* shall not be ordained; but if it is a great distance of time since her Husband died, and she has lived prudently, and they have not found any fault against her, and she has taken care of those of her house well, as Judith and Anna, women of purity, let her be appointed to the order of Widows. But if she hath not waited from the Death of her Husband believe her not, but let her be proved by the time. For the evil Passion remaineth in old Persons,

with those who will permit it a place in themselves, if it be not restrained with a sharp Bridle. (Can. 70.)

VIII. *Precautions as to Persons who have the Gift of healing the Possessed.*

EXORCISTS shall not be ordained, for the design is of the choice of the will, and of the grace of God, and Christ Jesus. When the Holy Spirit is manifested in the man he will receive the Gift of Healing; it is made manifest by the revelation of God, by the grace of God which is in him, giving light to all men. But if there be a necessity that he should be a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, let him be ordained. (Can. 71.)

IX. *Additional Ordinance as to the case of a Bishop having been ordained by one Bishop only.*

IT is necessary that a Bishop should be ordained by three, or two, Bishops; but if one Bishop hath ordained him let him be anathematized. But if a necessity hath happened to any one that he should be ordained by one only, because they are not able to gather together on account of the Persecution which

is without, or on account of any other such like cause, let the Permission from many other holy Bishops be received for doing this, which is requisite for him. (Can. 72.)

X. *General Definitions of the peculiar Right and Power of the different Members of the Clergy.*

THE Bishop blesseth, but is not blessed. He ordaineth, layeth on hands upon men, putteth on the Oblation, receiveth the Blessing from the Bishops, but not from the Presbyters. The Bishop anathematizeth (excludeth) every Clergyman who deserveth to be anathematized (excluded); but to another Bishop he is without power to do this alone.

A Presbyter also blesseth and receiveth the Blessing from his fellow-Presbyter and from the Bishop; and he likewise giveth it to his fellow-Presbyter. He layeth his hands on men, but he doth not ordain, neither doth he anathematize. He putteth out those who are under him; and if there are any deserving of Punishment, let him give it them.

A Deacon doth not bless, neither doth he give the Blessing, but he receiveth it from the Bishop and the Presbyter. He doth not baptize, neither doth he put on the Eucharist. But when the Bishop and the

Presbyter have set on the Eucharist, the Deacon giveth the Cup, not as a Priest, but as one who ministereth to the Priests. There is no power in any other of the Clergy to do the work of a Deacon.

And a Deaconess doth not bless, neither doth she do any of those things which the Presbyters and the Deacons do, but she keepeth the Doors only, and ministereth to the Presbyters at the time of the Baptism of Women, because this is becoming.

A Deacon can put out the Subdeacon, and the Readers, and the Singer, and the Deaconesses, if occasion leads him, no Presbyter indeed being there. A Subdeacon has no power to put out a Reader, or a Singer, or a Deaconess, or a Lay Person, for he is a Minister to the Deacons. (Can. 73.)

APPENDIX.

A.

The Requisites and Duties of a Bishop, according to the Third Book of the Greek Apostolical Constitutions.

A PASTOR who is to be ordained a Bishop in any Parish must be unblamable, unreprovable, free from all kinds of wickedness common among men, not under fifty years of age. . . . But if in a small Parish one advanced in years is not to be found, let some younger Person who hath a good report among his Neighbours, and is esteemed by them worthy of the office of a Bishop, . . . after Examination and a general good Report be ordained in peace. . . .

Let not a Bishop be given to filthy lucre, especially before the Gentiles, rather suffering than offering injuries, not covetous nor rapacious, nō purloiner, no admirer nor hater of the poor, no evil-speaker nor false witness, not given to anger, no brawler, not entangled with the affairs of this life, not a surety for any one, nor an accuser in suits about money, not ambitious, not double-minded nor double-tongued, not ready to hearken to calumny or evil-speaking, not a dissembler, not addicted to the heathen

festivals, not given to vain deceits, not eager after worldly things nor a lover of money. For all these things are opposed to God, and pleasing to Demons. . . .

Rebuke, O Bishop, those that sin, admonish those that are not converted, exhort those that stand to persevere in their goodness; receive the Penitent, for the Lord God hath promised with an oath to grant remission to the Penitent for what things they have done amiss. . . . Condemn the guilty Person with authority, afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation, if he will change his course of life . . .

Do not admit less Evidence to convict any one than that of Three Witnesses, and those of known and established reputations.

Let the Bishop use those Tithes and First-fruits which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God; as also, let him dispense in a right manner the free-will Offerings, which are brought in on account of the Poor, the Orphans, the Widows, the Afflicted and Strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts, who hath committed the disposition to him. Distribute to all those in want with Righteousness; and yourselves use the things which belong to the Lord, but do not abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all up by yourselves; communicate with those that are in want, and thereby show yourselves unblamable before God. (Third Book, ch. 20. extract.)

B.

On the Marriage of the Clergy.

A BISHOP, a Presbyter, and a Deacon, when they are constituted, must be but once married, whether their Wives be alive, or whether they be dead; and it is not lawful for them, if they are unmarried when they are ordained, to be married afterwards; or if they be then married, to marry a second time, but to be content with that Wife which they had when they came to Ordination. We also appoint that the Ministers and Singers and Readers and Porters shall be only once married. But if they entered into the Clergy before they were married, we permit them to marry, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin and incur Punishment. But we do not permit any one of the Clergy to take to wife either an Whore or a Servant or a Widow, or one that is divorced, as also the Law says. Let the Deaconess be a pure Virgin, or at least a Widow who hath been but once married, faithful and well esteemed. (vi. 17.)

THIRD BOOK.

The Order and Formularies of the Service:

OR,

THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE AND WORSHIP OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

THIS BOOK CONTAINETH:

A. The *Liturgy*, or the General Order of the Service.
First Part: Preparatory Service (Service of the Catechumens).
Second Part: Service of the Believers, or Service of Thanksgiving (Eucharist).

B. Some recorded early *Forms of Thanksgiving.*

I. The Hymn of Thanksgiving, or the Morning Hymn of the early Church.
1. According to the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Bible. Also called Hymnus Angelicus.
2. The same reduced to its primitive Form.

II. The Morning Psalm (Ps. lxiii.), or the Morning Verse between Psalm Verses.

III. The

III. The Evening Psalm (Ps. xli.), or the Song of Simeon, or the Christian Psalm composed of Psalm Verses.
IV. The Evening Hymn of the Greek Christians.
V. The Evening Hymn of the Apostolic Constitutions.

APPENDIX.

I. A Form of Prayer of Thanksgiving before the Communion.
II. A Form of Thanksgiving after the Communion.

Book III.

A.

The Liturgy, or the General Order of the Service.

FIRST PART.

Preparatory Service, or Service of the Catechumens.

Accessible also to the Hearers, who are learning the Word, but have not yet taken the sacred Pledge, and therefore do not belong to the Communion of the Believers.

A Psalm of the Old (or New?) Testament sung in the antiphonic Manner of the Hebrew poetry, according to Hemistichs.

Or also an Act of Humiliation and Confession.

The Doxology, or the Praise, at the end of a Psalm:

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

Or,

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

Or,

Glory be to the Father in (or *through*) *the Son, and through the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.*

A Canticle of the Old Testament.

Or a Christian Hymn or Sacred Song.

Lesson from the Old Testament.

Lesson from the New Testament.

Homily, or Explanation of Scripture, especially of the Gospel, and Exhortations to Christian Faith and Life.

Dismissal of the Catechumens or Hearers, with Blessing.

SECOND PART.

The Service of the Believers, or Service of Thanksgiving (Eucharist).

The *Oblation*, or Placing of Bread and Wine (and First-fruits) on the Communion Table.

Generally a Word of *Admonition* premised, as:

No Profane!
Wisdom!

The mutual *Salutation* of Bishop (or Presbyters) and People:

The Lord be with you:
And with thy Spirit.

The *Preface*, or Introduction to the Thanksgiving for the Gifts of God and for Christ's Redemption:

Lift up your Hearts:

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord:

It is meet and right so to do.

The *Prayer of Thanksgiving:* either only

The Lord's Prayer,

to which, for that purpose, the following Doxology or concluding Praise was added, with the usual Response:

For Thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever.

[Or,

For Thine is the Power for ever and ever.]

Amen.

Or, besides, a free Prayer of the Bishop or Elder, praising God's Benefits from the Creation of the World, and asking his Blessing for the Communicants.

(The Words of the Institution formed no necessary part of this Prayer of Consecration, but may have been historically recited.)

The Communion of all the Believers present, taken both in the Bread and in the Cup.

Antiphonic Verses used before the Communion, according to the Custom of the Church.

The *Cherubic Hymn*, or *Trisagion*, from Isaiah:

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord the God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory.

After this Verse, or perhaps originally instead of it, was sung:

The *Hymn of Thanksgiving,* or the *Morning Hymn.*
(See the text at the head of the Hymns.)

Other Antiphonic Verses used before the Communion:

Hosanna to the Son of David:
Blessed be he who cometh in the Name of the Lord.

Or,

God is the Lord:
Who was made manifest to us in the Flesh.

Or, Exhortations and Admonitions to the Congregation:

He who is holy, let him draw near:
If he is not, let him become so through Penitence.

Or,

This is Maranatha! (the Lord cometh!)

After the Communion.

Prayer of Thanksgiving, for the Benefit and Grace received (sometimes the Lord's Prayer with Doxology used at this place).

The Dismissal of the Congregation with the Blessing.

B.

The recorded early Hymns and Forms of Thanksgiving.

I. *The Hymn of Thanksgiving, or the Morning Hymn of the early Church.*

1. *According to the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Bible: also called Hymnus Angelicus.*

GLORY be to God on high, and on Earth Peace, good Will among Men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee: we give Thanks to Thee for Thy great Glory; O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty! O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; and the Holy Ghost, O Lord God! O Lamb of God! Son of the Father, that takest away the Sins of the World, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the Sins of the World, have Mercy upon us, receive our Prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have Mercy upon us. For Thou only art holy: Thou only the Lord, Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

2. *The same reduced to its primitive Form.*

GLORY be to God on high:
And on Earth Peace, good Will among Men.
[Or, perhaps more primitively:
And on Earth Peace among the Men of good Will.]

We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee,
We give Thanks to Thee for Thy great Glory.
O Lord heavenly King, God the Father Almighty:
Lord God!

O Lord, the only-begotten Son:
Jesus Christ!
That takest away the Sins of the World:
Have Mercy upon us.
Thou that takest away the Sins of the World:
Have Mercy upon us, receive our Prayer.
Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father:
Have Mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy:
Thou only art the Lord, Jesus Christ:
To the Glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

II. *The Morning Psalm* (Ps. lxiii.), *or the following Morning Verse between Psalm Verses:*

EVERY day will I bless Thee:
And I will bless Thy Name for ever and ever.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this Day without Sin.
Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our Fathers:
And Thy Name be praised and glorified for ever and ever. *Amen.*

III. *The Evening Psalm* (Ps. xli.), *or the Song of Simeon, or the following Psalm composed of Psalm Verses:*

BLESSED art thou, O Lord, teach me Thy Statutes.
Lord, Thou hast been our Dwelling-place in all Generations.
I said, Lord, be merciful unto me:
Heal my Soul, for I have sinned against Thee.
Lord, I flee unto Thee to hide me.
Teach me to do Thy Will:
For Thou art my God.
For with Thee is the Fountain of Life:
In Thy Light shall we see Light.
O continue thy Loving-kindness unto them that know Thee.

IV. *The Evening Hymn of the Greek Christians.*

SERENE Light of holy Glory,
Of the Father everlasting, Jesus Christ!
Having come to the Setting of the Sun,
And seeing the Evening Light,
We praise the Father and the Son
And the Holy Spirit of God.
It behoveth to praise Thee
At all Times with holy Songs,
Son of God who hast given Life,
Therefore the World glorifieth Thee.

V. *The Evening Hymn of the Apostolic Constitutions.*

PRAISE, O ye Servants, the Lord:
Praise the Name of the Lord.

We praise Thee, we sing unto Thee, we bless Thee:
On account of Thy great Glory.
O Lord the King, Father of Christ:
Of the spotless Lamb, which taketh away the Sins of the World.
It behoveth to praise Thee:
It behoveth to sing unto Thee.
It behoveth to glorify Thee, God and Father:
Through the Son, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

APPENDIX

FROM

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE GREEK CONSTITUTIONS.

Liturgical Formularies.

I. *A Form of Prayer of Thanksgiving before the Communion.*

WE thank Thee, our Father, for that Life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus thy Son, by whom Thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole World; whom Thou hast sent to become Man for our Salvation; whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die; whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set down on Thy right hand: by whom Thou hast promised us the Resurrection of the Dead. Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, Everlasting God, so gather together Thy Church from the ends of the Earth into Thy Kingdom, as this (Corn) was once scattered, and is now become one Loaf. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for His precious Body, whereof we celebrate this Representation, as Himself appointed us, to shew forth his Death. For, through Him, Glory is to be given to Thee for ever. *Amen.*

II. *A Form of Thanksgiving after the Communion.*

WE thank Thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou hast made to inhabit among us; and that Knowledge, Faith, Love, and Immortality, which Thou hast given us through Thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord, the God of the Universe, hast created the World, and the things that are therein by Him; and hast planted a Law in our Souls, and beforehand didst prepare things for the convenience of Men. O God of our holy and blameless Fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, Thy faithful Servants; Thou, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without Deceit in Thy Promises; who didst send upon Earth Jesus Thy Christ to converse with Men, as a Man, when he was God, the Word, and Man, to take away error by the roots; do Thou, even now, through Him, be mindful of this Thy Holy Church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious Blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all Evil, and perfect it in Thy Love and Thy Truth, and gather us all together into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared. *Amen.*

FOURTH BOOK.

Rules of General Conduct

FOR

ALL MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION:

OR,

THE CONGREGATIONAL, SOCIAL, AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

THIS BOOK CONTAINETH:

FIRST CHAPTER: *Regulation of Christian Life respecting the Worship and Service.* — From the Seventh Book of the Greek Constitutions.

I. That the Christians are to fast in the Holy Week, but keep the other Sabbaths as Festivals.
II. On the Celebration of the Lord's Day.
III. That the Believers alone are to partake of the Eucharist.
IV. How far Presbyters coming from other Churches are to be allowed to say the Thanksgiving.

SECOND

SECOND CHAPTER: *Rules of Christian Conduct in the Love-Feasts and other social Meetings, and in domestic Life.*

I. That the Bishop is always to be ready to take Bread and Wine in the Church with any one of the Faithful who wishes it.

II. How the Christians are to behave in their Love-Feasts.

III. How one of the Widows may take part in a Love-Feast.

IV. How the Christian is to begin his Day-work by Prayer, and by hearing the Word of God, and take the Communion, if there is a Place of Christian Meeting.

V. The same Ordinance amplified.

VI. That every Believer is to take the Communion at the Dawn of Day, and how.

VII. How the Christian is to edify himself in his own House.

VIII. At what Hours and with what Meditations the Christian is to pray, Morning, Forenoon, Noon, Afternoon, Evening, and Middle of the Night.

IX. What is the Meaning of the Christian signing himself with the Sign of the Cross.

X. Injunction on the Praying of the Lord's Prayer. (From the Greek Constitutions.)

XI. On private and public Devotion. (From the Fifth Book of the Coptic Canons.)

XII. On what Days Christians are to celebrate the Commemoration of the Dead.

XIII. How Presbyters and Deacons are to behave at the Funeral Meals.
XIV. How Cemeteries and Burials are to be arranged.
XV. That Christians ought to abstain from eating sacrificial Meat.
XVI. How many Days the Servants are to work.

APPENDIX.

On Conjugal Life and on Impurities.

Book IV.

FIRST CHAPTER.

REGULATION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE RESPECTING THE WORSHIP AND SERVICE.

(From the Seventh Book of the Greek Constitutions.)

I. *That the Christians are to fast in the Holy Week, but keep the Sabbath as a Festival, except Easter-Eve.*

LET not your Fasts be with the Hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth days of the (Holy) week. But do you either fast the entire Five Days (Monday to Friday in the Holy Week), or on the Fourth Day of the Week, and on the Day of the Preparation (Wednesday and Friday of the Holy Week). Because on the fourth day the Condemnation went out against the Lord, Judas then promising to betray him for money; and you must

fast on the Day of the Preparation, because on that day the Lord suffered the death of the Cross, under Pontius Pilate. But keep the Sabbath and the Lord's Day Festival; because the former is the memorial of the Creation, and the latter of the Resurrection. But there is one only Sabbath to be observed by you in the whole year, which is that of our Lord's Burial, on which men ought to keep a Fast, but not a Festival. For inasmuch as the Creator was then under the earth, the sorrow for him is more forcible than the joy for the Creation: for the Creator is more honourable by nature and dignity than his own Creatures. (VII. 23.)

II. *On the Celebration of the Lord's Day.*

ON the Day of the Resurrection of the Lord, that is the Lord's Day, assemble yourselves together, without fail, giving thanks to God and praising him for those mercies He has bestowed upon you, through Christ; and for that He has delivered you from ignorance, error, and bondage; that your Sacrifice may be unspotted, and acceptable to God, who has said concerning his Universal Church: "*In every place shall Incense and a pure Sacrifice be offered unto me; for I am a great King, saith the Lord Almighty, and my name is wonderful among the Heathen.*" (VII. 30.)

III. *That the Faithful alone are to partake of the Eucharist.*

LET no one eat of these things that is not initiated; but those only who have been baptized into the death of the Lord. But if any one that is not initiated conceal himself and partake of the same, "*He eateth eternal Damnation;*" because being not of the faith of Christ he has partaken of such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one is a Partaker through Ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out and despise you. (VII. 25.)

IV. *How far Presbyters coming from other Churches are to be allowed to say the Thanksgiving.*

WHOSOEVER being a Presbyter cometh to you and giveth thanks in a Christian manner, receive him as a Disciple of Christ. But if he preach another Doctrine, different from that which Christ has delivered to you, such an one you must not permit to give thanks; for such an one rather affronteth God than glorifieth him. But whosoever cometh to you, let him be first examined, and then

received, for ye have Understanding, and are able to know the right hand from the left, and to distinguish false Teachers from true Teachers. But when a Teacher cometh to you, supply him with what he wanteth in all readiness. And even when a false Teacher cometh, you shall give him for his necessity, but shall not receive his error. Nor indeed may ye pray together with him, lest ye be polluted as well as he. Every true Prophet or Teacher that cometh to you is *worthy of his maintenance,* as being a *Labourer* in the Word of Righteousness. (VII. 28.)

SECOND CHAPTER.

RULES OF CHRISTIAN CONDUCT IN THE LOVE-FEASTS AND OTHER SOCIAL MEETINGS, AND IN DOMESTIC LIFE.

I. *That the Bishop is always to be ready to take Bread and Wine in the Church with any one Believer who wisheth it.*

LET Widows and Virgins fast often, and let them pray in the Church; likewise the Presbyters and the Laity, let them fast when they will. But the Bishop is not able to fast except on the day that all the People fast. For it may be that some one may wish to take something in the Church, and it is not possible for him to deny. And if he break the Bread at all, he will taste the Bread, and eat it, and the rest of the Believers with him. Let them receive from the hand of the Bishop a portion of the same Bread, before each one shall divide the Bread which is for him; for this is a Blessing and is not a Thanksgiving, like the body of the Lord. (Copt. Coll. book II. can. 47.)

II. *How Christians are to behave in their Love-Feasts.*

IT becometh every one before he drink to take the Cup and give thanks over it, that he may drink and eat with purity. And thus let them give to the Catechumens of the Bread of Exorcism, and a Cup. (Can. 48.)

And let those who eat remember him who has called him, as often as they eat. For on this account he constrained them that they should come in under his roof. (Can. 49.)

And when ye eat and drink in tranquillity, drink not that ye may be drunken, that men may deride you, and he who has called you is sorrowful for your Dissoluteness. But that he shall pray the Saints (Believers) to go in to him; for he has said, "Ye are the Salt of the Earth."

If they have given to you all the Portions together, thou shalt come bearing thy Part alone. And when you have been called to eat, you shall eat only what sufficeth you, for as to what remaineth, he who has called you shall do with it what he pleaseth, so that it remaineth for the Believers, and he will rejoice in your entering in to him.

And those who have been called shall surely eat, but let them eat in peace, and not contentiously. And if the Bishop should command any one to seek

for a word, let him answer him. And if the Bishop has spoken, let every one be silent with attention, until he interrogateth him again. And if a Bishop be not there, but the Believers alone are at the Supper, let them receive the Blessing from the Presbyter, if he be there, but if he be not there, let them receive it from a Deacon. Likewise that the Catechumen receive the Bread of Exorcism. The Laity being by themselves without a Clergyman, let them eat with moderation, but the Layman cannot give the Blessing. (Can. 50.)

And let each one eat with Thanksgiving, in the name of God, for this is proper for the Servant of God, that we all should be watchful, and the Gentiles will emulate us. (Can. 51.)

III. *How one of the Widows may take part in a Love-Feast.*

IF any one desireth for a time to call the Widows, let him feed every one who is become old, and send them away before the Evening cometh. And if it be not possible for the Clergyman to whom they have ministered to come, let him give them Wine and something to eat, and they shall eat in their own House, as they will. (Can. 52.)

IV. *How the Christian is to begin his Day-work by Prayer and by hearing the Word of God and taking the Communion, if there is a Place of Christian Meeting.*

LET all Believers when they shall wake up, before they put their hand to any Work, pray to the Lord, and thus let them approach their Work.

And when there shall be a Word of Instruction let them prefer it greatly to go to hear the Word of God for the edification of their Souls. And let them hasten that they may go into the Church, the place in which the Spirit quickeneth. (Coptic Coll. book II. can. 57.)

V. *The same Ordinance amplified.*

AND all Believers, men and women, when they have risen in the morning from sleep, before they touch any Work, let them wash their hands, and they shall pray to God, and thus let them proceed to their Work.

And when it cometh to pass that there shall be an Exhortation of the Word of God, let every one choose for himself to go to that place, reckoning this in his heart, that he has heard God speaking in the Exhor-

tation, for praying in the Church will prevail. For when the Darkness of the day is passed by, let the timid reckon that it is a great Sin if he go not to the place in which they exhort; and especially he who is able to read. Or when the Teacher cometh, let not any one of you be last in the Church, the place in which they instruct. Then it shall be given to him who speaketh that he shall declare things useful to every one, and thou shalt hear the things thou thinkest not, and thou shalt profit by those things which the Holy Spirit shall give to thee by the Exhortation; and thus thy Faith shall be established by those things which thou hast heard. And they shall speak to thee again in that place of those things which it becometh thee to do in thy house. Therefore let every one hasten to go into the Church, the place where the Holy Spirit stirs up. (Can. 62[a].)

VI. *That every faithful Person is to take the Communion at the Dawn of Day, and how.*

AND let every Believer hasten to partake of the Eucharist before he tasteth of any other thing.

Let every one take care by investigation that no Unbeliever eateth of the Eucharist; nor a mouse, nor other creature; or that any other thing indeed has

fallen into it which has strayed. This is the Body of Christ which all Believers partake of, and it is not becoming to despise it.

For if thou hast blessed the Cup in the name of God, and hast partaken of it, like as of the Blood of Christ, keep thyself with the greatest care: spill not of it, lest a strange Spirit should lick it up, that God may not be angry with thee as one who has despised it, and thou shalt be guilty of the Blood of Christ by thy contempt of the price by which thou wast purchased.

Let the Deacons and the Presbyters assemble daily in the place in which the Bishops shall command them; and the Deacons shall not be negligent in assembling to see to all things, unless Sickness hinder them. When they have collected all, let them make the distribution to those in the Church. And thus when they have prayed let each one proceed to the employment appointed him. (Coptic Collection, book II. can. 57—60.)

VII. *How the Christian is to edify himself in his own House.*

WHEN there is a day in which there is no Exhortation, let every one being in his House take a holy Book, reading in it sufficiently what appeareth to him useful. (Can. 62[b].)

VIII. *At what Hours and with what Meditations the Christian is to pray, Morning, Forenoon, Noon, Afternoon, Evening, and Middle of the Night.*

AND if thou art in thy House, pray at the Third Hour, blessing God. But if thou art in another place having opportunity at that time, pray in thy heart to God; for in that hour they saw Christ nailed to the Wood. Therefore, also, in the old Law it is commanded that they should put on the Shew-bread continually, the Type of the Body and Blood of Christ. He also is the Bread which came down from Heaven.

Pray again likewise at the Sixth Hour; for when they crucified Christ on the Wood of the Cross that Day was divided, and there was great Darkness. Wherefore let them pray at that time with a fervent Prayer, availing themselves of the voice of Him who prayed (at that hour) causing all Creation to be dark, by reason of the unbelief of the Jews.

Let them pray again a great Prayer and a great Praise at the Ninth Hour; for thou shalt be enlightened like the Souls of the righteous who blessed the Lord God of truth. He who remembered the Saints, sent to them his Son, who is his Word, who enlightened them. For in that hour the Side of Christ was

pierced with a Spear, and Blood and Water came out; and afterwards it was light the remaining part of the Day until the evening. Therefore thou also, if thou hast gone to thy rest, thou art to remember another Day, and realize the type of the Resurrection.

Pray again before thou restest thyself upon the Bed of thy repose.

And if thou hast risen at Midnight upon thy Bed, wash thy hands and pray; but thou shalt wash thy hands in pure water. And if thou hast a Wife pray together with one another. But if she has not yet believed, thou shalt withdraw thyself into a place and shalt pray alone, and return again to thy place. But thou who art bound in Marriage refrain not from Prayer, for thou art not defiled. For those who are washed, have no need to wash again, for they are purified and are clean. And if thou breathest in thy hand, sealing thyself with the Vapour which shall come out of thy Mouth, thou shalt be all clean, to thy foot, for this is the Gift of the Holy Spirit. And the Drops of Water are the baptismal Drops coming up from the fountain, that is, the heart of the Believer, purifying him who believeth.

There is a necessity again that Prayers should be made at that hour: for the Elders, they who delivered this work to us, likewise taught us thus to purify ourselves; for in that hour all Creation is silent, praising

God. The stars and the trees and the waters are as all the host of Angels who stand around, serving with the Souls of the Just, praising God Almighty at that time. Therefore it becometh Believers to pray at that hour. The Lord again has spoken after this manner, witnessing to this, saying: "*In the middle of the night behold there was a cry, Behold the bridegroom cometh, come ye out to meet him.*" And he interpreted the Word again, saying: "*Watch therefore, because ye know not the day neither the hour when the Son of Man cometh.*" Likewise if thou shalt rise at the time of the Cock-crowing, pray, because the Children of Israel denied Christ at that hour. This we have known who believe on him by Faith, looking for the hope of the Day of Light for ever, which shall enlighten us for ever in the Resurrection of the Dead.

And all ye Believers, if ye fulfil these things, and remember that ye teach one another, and instruct the Catechumens to perform them, nothing shall try you, and ye shall not mourn for ever. (Can. 62^{e}.)

IX. *What is the Meaning of the Christian signing himself with the Sign of the Cross.*

REMEMBER Christ continually, and receive this name at all times, sealing thy Forehead in fear, for this is the Sign which is known and manifest, and

by this the Devil is ruined. If thou hast done it in Faith thou art not only known before men, but thou hast the knowledge that it is a Sign. For the Adversary the Devil looks to the power of the heart only; and if he seeth the inner Man that is rational, sealed within and without with the Seal of the Word of God, he fleeth immediately, fleeing from him through the Holy Spirit which is in the Man, who has granted him a place in himself. This also Moses the Prophet first taught us by the Passover. For he commanded that they should sprinkle the Blood of the Lamb which had been killed, upon the Lintel and the two Door-posts, showing to us the Faith which is now in us, which was given to us by the perfect Lamb. If we have sealed ourselves with this on our Foreheads, with our hands, we shall be delivered from those who wish to destroy us.

And if ye receive these things with Thanksgiving and a right Faith, ye shall be sanctified, and received into eternal Life. (Can. 62d.)

X. *Injunction on the Praying of the Lord's Prayer.*— From the Greek Constitutions.

WHEN ye pray, be not ye as the Hypocrites, but as the Lord has appointed us in the Gospel, so

pray ye: *Our Father which art in heaven; hallowed be thy Name; thy Kingdom come; thy Will be done as in heaven, so on earth; give us this Day our daily Bread; and forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors; and lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil; for thine is the Kingdom for ever. Amen.* Pray thus thrice in a day, preparing yourselves beforehand, that ye may be worthy of the adoption of the Father; lest when ye call him Father unworthily, ye be reproached by him, as Israel his first-born Son was once told: *If I be a Father, where is my Glory? and if I be a Lord, where is my Fear?* For the Glory of Fathers is the Holiness of their Children; and the Honour of Masters is the Fear of their Servants, as the contrary is dishonour and confusion: for, saith he, *Through you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.* (VII. 24.)

XI. *On Private and Public Devotion.*—From the Fifth Book of the Coptic Canons.

WHEN you rise in the Morning, pray. Pray again at the Third Hour, and the Sixth, and the Ninth, and in the Evening, and at the time of Cock-crowing. And at the time of the Light appearing, because the Lord has enlightened us: he has

caused the night to pass by, and has brought to us also the light of day. And at the Third Hour, because Pilate gave sentence on the Lord at that hour. And at the Sixth, because they crucified Christ at that hour, and when they pierced his side Blood and Water came out. And again at the Ninth, because when they crucified the Lord, all the earth trembled and was troubled at the audacity of the ungodly Jews; for nature could not bear seeing its Lord mocked. And in the Evening, you shall give thanks, because he has given you the night for rest from the labours of the day. And at the time of Cock-crowing you shall pray, because it announceth to you in that hour the approach of day, that you may proceed to the works of the light to perform them.

If it be not possible to go into the Church on account of the Unbelievers, thou, O Bishop, shalt make the Assembly in thy House, that the Servants of God may not assemble together with the Ungodly. For it is not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the man that sanctifieth the place. If the Ungodly take possession of the place, flee from it, because they have polluted it. For as holy men sanctify a place, thus again it is that they who are not holy pollute it.

If it has been impossible to assemble together either in the House or in the Church, let every one

sing by himself; let him read, let him pray; or the Congregation not being there, two or three together. For he saith: "*Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am with them in their midst.*"

Let not a Believer pray in the houses of the Catechumens, for it is not just that he who partaketh of the Mystery should touch those who partake not. Neither let him who serveth God pray in the house with an Heretic: "*For what fellowship has Light with Darkness, or what part has Christ with Satan?*"

If a believing Man or Woman have dwelt with a Slave, let them separate, or let them be cast out of the Church. (75c.)

XII. *On what Days Christians are to celebrate the Commemoration of the Dead.*

LET them keep the Third Day for those who have gone to sleep, with Psalms and Prayers, on account of him who arose from the Dead after three days.

And let them celebrate their Seventh Day making remembrance of the living, and those who have slept.

And let them again celebrate their Month from the pattern of the Ancients; for thus did the People mourn for Moses.

And let them observe the Completion of their Year

for a Sign of their Remembrance, giving to the Poor out of the Goods of him who has died, making a remembrance of him.

And we say these things concerning the Servants of God only. But concerning the Ungodly, if thou givest every thing which is in the world for them to the Poor, thou wilt profit them nothing. For those to whom God has been an Enemy in this world, he will not cease being an Enemy to after they have departed out of this world, for there is no Injustice in him: "*The righteous Lord has loved righteousness.*" And again, "*Behold the man and his work.*" (Can. 76ª.)

XIII. *How Presbyters and Deacons are to behave at the Funeral Meals.*

BUT if they call you in those days; eat with order and the fear of God, as those who are able to intercede for those who have departed out of this world; for ye are Presbyters and Deacons of Christ. You ought therefore to be sober continually, among yourselves alone, and with others, that you may be able to "warn the unruly;" for the Scripture saith, "*The great are wrathful: let them not drink wine, lest when they drink they should forget wisdom, and*

be unable to judge with equity." And therefore after God Almighty and his beloved Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, are not the Bishops and the Presbyters the chief persons in the Church?

But we say these things, not forbidding them that they should not drink at all, for it is not possible that we can despise what God has made for the Cheerfulness of Men; but we command that they should not drink to excess. For the Scripture saith not, "Drink not wine at all;" but what doth it say? It saith: "*Drink not wine to excess:*" and again, "*Thorns spring up in the hands of the Drunkard.*" And we say not this of the Clergy alone, but of the Lay Christians also, upon whom the name of Christ Jesus our Lord hath been called. For these are the things which have been said concerning them: "*Who has woe? and who has trouble? and who has judgments? and who has evil communications? and who has beatings without cause? or who has his eyes marked? Do not those who tarry long at the wine, and who seek where are the wine taverns?*" (Copt. Can. book v. can. 76[b].)

XIV. *How Cemeteries and Burials are to be arranged.*

LET them not burthen a man to bury men in the Cemeteries, for it is the work of all the Poor. But let them give Wages to the Workman who diggeth, and a Gift to the Keepers, and to those in that place who have had the care of it. Let the Bishop support them, that no one may press upon them among those who go to those places. (Book II. can. 61.)

XV. *That Christians ought to abstain from eating sacrificial Meat.*

BUT do ye abstain from things offered to Idols; for they offer them in honour of Demons, that is, to the dishonour of the One God, that ye may not become partners with Demons. (Greek Const. book VII. ch. 21.)

XVI. *How many Days the Servants are to work.*

LET the Servants work Five Days, but the Sabbath and the Lord's Day let them have leisure for the Church, that they may be taught

Piety in the service of God. On the Sabbath the Lord rested from all the work of Creation which he had finished: the Lord's Day is (a day of rest) on account of the Resurrection of the Lord.

And let them not work in the Week of the great Passover, and that which follows it, which is the Feast: the one in which they crucified the Lord, and the other in which he rose from the Dead. For it is necessary that they should know by the Teaching who died and rose again. (Can. 75^{b}.)

APPENDIX.

On Conjugal Life and on Impurities.

A HUSBAND, therefore, and a Wife, when they live together in lawful Marriage, and rise from one another, may pray without observing any rite; and without washing they are clean. But whosoever corrupteth and defileth another man's Wife, or is defiled with an Harlot; when he ariseth up from her, though he should wash himself in the entire ocean and all the rivers, cannot be clean. Do not therefore keep any such Observances about legal and natural Purgations, as thinking you are defiled by them. Neither do you seek after Jewish separations, or perpetual washings, or purifications upon the touch of a dead body. But without such Observances assemble in the Cemeteries, reading the holy Books, and singing for the Martyrs which are fallen asleep, and for all the Saints from the beginning of the world, and for your Brethren that are asleep in the Lord, and offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ, both in your Churches and in the Cemeteries; and in the Funerals of the Departed accompany them with singing if they were faithful in Christ. (Greek Constitutions, book VI. ch. 29^{c}—30^{a}.)

THE

Law-Book of the Ante-Nicene Church.

THIS BOOK CONTAINETH

The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles.

THE FIRST COLLECTION,

OR THE

Apostolical Canons received by the Roman Church,

CONTAINETH

THE FOLLOWING CANONS OR REGULATIONS.

(Can. 1—50.)

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The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles.

LET a Bishop be ordained by Two or Three Bishops.

2. A Presbyter by One Bishop, as also a Deacon and the rest of the Clergy.

3. If any Bishop or Presbyter, otherwise than our Lord has ordained concerning the Sacrifice, offer other things at the Altar of God, as Honey, Milk, or strong Drink instead of Wine, any Confects, or Birds or Beasts, or Pulse, otherwise than is ordained, let him be deprived.

4. At their Season it is not lawful to offer at the Altar any thing besides new Ears and fresh Grapes, and Oil for the Holy Lamp, and Incense, at the Time when the Holy Oblation is celebrated.

5. But let all other Fruits be sent to the House of the Bishop, as First-fruits for him and for the Presbyters, but not for the Altar. Now it is plain, that

the Bishop and Presbyters are to divide them to the Deacons and to the rest of the Clergy.

6. Let not a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon, cast off his own Wife under pretence of Piety; but if he do cast her off, let him be suspended. If he go on in it let him be deprived.

7. Let not a Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, undertake the Cares of this World; but if he do let him be deprived.

8. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, shall celebrate the Holy Day of the Passover before the Vernal Equinox with the Jews, let him be deprived.

9. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or any one of the List of the Priesthood, when the Oblation is over, doth not communicate, let him give his reason; and if it be just, let him be forgiven; but if he doth not do it, let him be suspended, as becoming the Cause of Damage to the People, and occasioning a Suspicion against him that offered, as of one that did not rightly offer.

10. All those of the Believers that enter into the Holy Church of God and hear the sacred Scriptures, but do not stay during Prayer and the Holy Communion, must be suspended, as causing Disorder in the Church.

11. If any one, even in the House, prayeth with a Person excommunicate, let him also be suspended.

12. If any Clergyman prayeth with one deprived as with a Clergyman, let himself also be deprived.

13. If any Clergyman or Layman, who is suspended, or ought not to be received, goeth away, and is received in another City without Commendatory Letters, let both those who received him and him that was received be suspended. But if he be already suspended, let his Suspension be lengthened, as lying to and deceiving the Church of God.

14. A Bishop ought not to leave his own Parish and go to another, although the Multitude should force him, unless some rational cause compelleth him, being able, perhaps, to confer more gain to those who live there, and performing something useful in the cause of Religion. But this he shall not try by himself; but after the Judgment of many Bishops, and after pressing Supplication.

15. If any Presbyter or Deacon, or any one of the List of the Clergy, leaveth his own Parish and goeth to another, and entirely removing himself continueth in that other Parish, without the Consent of his own Bishop, him we command no longer to go on in his Ministry, especially in case his Bishop calleth upon him to return, and he doth not obey, but continueth in his Disorder. However, let him communicate there as a Layman.

16. But if the Bishop, with whom they are, de-

spiseth the Deprivation decreed against them, and receiveth them as Clergymen, let him be suspended, as a Teacher of Disorder.

17. He who has been twice married after his Baptism, or has had a Concubine, cannot be made a Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon, or, indeed, any one of the Sacerdotal List.

18. He who has married a divorced Woman, or an Harlot, or a Slave, or one belonging to the Theatre, cannot be a Bishop, or a Priest, or a Deacon, or, indeed, any one of the Sacerdotal List.

19. He who has married two Sisters, or his Brother's Daughter, cannot be a Clergyman.

20. Let a Clergyman, who becometh a Surety, be deprived.

21. An Eunuch, if he be such by the Injury of Men, or his Testicles were taken away in the Persecution, or he was born such and yet is worthy of the Episcopate, let him be made a Bishop.

22. He who has disabled himself, let him not be made a Clergyman; for he is a Self-murderer and an Enemy to the Creation of God.

23. If any one who is of the Clergy disable himself, let him be deprived, for he is a Murderer of himself.

24. A Layman who disableth himself, let him be

separated for Three Years, for he layeth a Snare for his own Life.

25. A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who is taken in Fornication, or Perjury, or Stealing, let him be deprived; but not suspended, for the Scripture sayeth, "*Thou shalt not avenge twice for the same Crime by Affliction.*"

26. In like manner also as to the rest of the Clergy.

27. Of those who come into the Clergy unmarried, we permit only the Readers and Singers, if they have a mind, to marry afterwards.

28. We command, that a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who striketh the Believers that offend, or the Unbelievers who do wickedly, and thinketh to terrify them by such Means, be deprived; for our Lord hath nowhere taught us such Things. On the contrary, *When himself was stricken, he did not strike again, when he was reviled he reviled not again, when he suffered he threatened not.*

29. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who is deprived justly for manifest Crimes, doth venture to meddle with that Ministration which was once intrusted to him, let the same Person be entirely cut off from the Church.

30. If any Bishop obtaineth that Dignity by Money, or even a Presbyter or Deacon, let him and

he that ordained him be deprived, and let him be entirely cut off from Communion, as Simon Magus was by Peter.

31. If any Bishop maketh use of the Rulers of this World, and by their Means obtaineth to be a Bishop of a Church, let him be deprived and suspended, and all that communicate with him.

32. If any Presbyter despiseth his own Bishop, and assembleth separately and fixeth another Altar, when he has nothing to condemn in his Bishop, either as to Piety or Righteousness, let him be deprived as an ambitious Person, for he is a Tyrant; and the rest of the Clergy, whoever join themselves to him. And let the Laity be suspended. But let these things be done after one, and a second, or even a third Admonition from the Bishop.

33. If any Presbyter or Deacon be put under Suspension by his Bishop, it is not lawful for any other to receive him, but him only who put him under Suspension; unless it happeneth that he who put him under Suspension die.

34. Do not ye receive any Stranger, whether Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon, without Letters Commendatory, and when such are offered let them be examined; and if they be Preachers of Piety let them be received; but if not, supply their Wants,

but do not receive them to Communion; for many Things are done surreptitiously.

35. The Bishops of every Nation ought to know who is the First among them, and him they ought to esteem as their Head, and not to do any great Thing without his Consent, but every one to manage only the affairs that belong to his own Parish, and the Country places and Villages subject to it. But let him not either do any Thing without the Consent of all; for it is by this means there will be Unanimity, and God will be glorified by Christ in the Holy Spirit.

36. A Bishop must not venture to ordain out of his own Bounds, for Cities or Country places (Villages) that are not subject to him. But if he be convicted of having done so without the Consent of such as governed those Cities or Country places, let him be deprived, both he and those whom he hath ordained.

37. If any Bishop that is ordained doth not undertake his Office, nor take Care of the People committed to him, let him be suspended, until he do undertake; and in the like manner a Presbyter or a Deacon. But if he goeth and is not received, not because of the Want of his own Consent, but because of the ill Temper of the People, let him continue Bishop; but let the Clergy of that City be sus-

pended, because they have not taught that disobedient People better.

38. Let a Synod of Bishops be held twice in the Year, and let them ask one another the Doctrines of Piety, and let them determine the ecclesiastical Disputes that happen. Once in the fourth Week of Pentecost, and again on the twelfth of the Month Hyperberetæus, that is, according to the Romans, on the fourth before the Ides of October.

39. Let the Bishop have the Care of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and administer them as in the Presence of God. But it is not lawful for him to appropriate any part of them to himself, or to give the Things of God to his own Kindred; if they be poor let him support them as Poor; but let him not under such Pretences alienate the Revenues of the Church.

40. Let not the Presbyters and Deacons do any Thing without the Consent of the Bishop; for it is he who is intrusted with the People of the Lord, and will be required to give an account of their Souls. Let the proper Goods of the Bishop, if he has any, and those belonging to the Lord, be openly distinguished, that he may have Power when he dieth to leave his own Goods as he pleaseth, that under pretence of the Ecclesiastical Revenues the Bishop's own may not come short, who sometimes has a Wife and Children, or Kinsfolk, or Servants.

For this is just before God and Men, that neither the Church suffer any loss by the not knowing which Revenues are the Bishop's own, nor his Kindred under Pretence of the Church be undone, or his Relations fall into Law Suits, and so his Death be liable to Reproach.

41. We command that the Bishop have Power over the Goods of the Church; for if he be intrusted with the precious Souls of Men, much more ought he to administer the Property, that they all be distributed to those in want, according to his Authority, by the Presbyters and Deacons, and be used for their Support, with the Fear of God, and with all Reverence; he is also to partake of those Things he wanteth, if he doth want them, for his necessary Occasions and those of the Brethren who live with him as Guests, that they may not by any means be in Straits. For the Law of God appointed, that those who waited at the Altar should be maintained by the Altar, since not so much as a Soldier doth at any time bear Arms against the Enemies at his own Charges.

42. A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who indulgeth himself in Dice or Drinking, either let him leave off those Practices, or let him be deprived.

43. If a Subdeacon, a Reader, or a Singer, doth

the like, either let him leave off or let him be suspended; and so for one of the Laity.

44. A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who requireth Usury of those he lendeth to, either let him leave off to do so, or let him be deprived.

45. A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who only prayeth with Heretics, let him be suspended; but if he also induceth them to perform any Part of the Office of a Clergyman, let him be deprived.

46. We command that a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who receiveth (as valid) the Baptism or the Sacrifice of Heretics, be deprived: *For what Agreement is there between Christ and Belial, or what Part has a Believer with an Infidel?*

47. If a Bishop or Presbyter rebaptizeth him who has had true Baptism, or doth not baptize him who is polluted by the Ungodly, let him be deprived as deriding the Cross and the Death of Christ, and not distinguishing between real Priests and counterfeit ones.

48. If a Layman divorceth his own Wife and taketh another, or one divorced by another, let him be suspended.

49. If any Bishop or Presbyter doth not baptize according to the Lord's Constitution, into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but into three Beings

without beginning, or into three Sons, or three Comforters, let him be deprived.

50. If any Bishop or Presbyter doth not perform the Three Immersions of the one Admission, but One Immersion which is given into the Death of Christ, let him be deprived; for the Lord did not say, *Baptize into my Death,* but, "*Go ye and make Disciples of all Nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" Do ye therefore, O Bishops, baptize thrice into the one Father and Son and Holy Ghost, according to the Will of Christ and our Constitution by the Spirit.

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51. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or indeed any one of the Sacerdotal Order, abstaineth from Flesh and Wine, not for his own exercise, but out of Hatred of the things, forgetting that *All things were very good,* and that *God made man, male and female,* and blasphemously abuseth the Creation, either let him reform or let him be deprived, and be cast out of the Church; and the same for one of the Laity.

52. If any Bishop or Presbyter doth not receive him that returneth from his Sin, but rejecteth him, let him be deprived, because he grieveth Christ, who sayeth, "*There is joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth.*"

53. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon doth not on Festival Days partake of Flesh or Wine, let him be

deprived, as *having a seared Conscience*, and becoming a Cause of Scandal to many.

54. If any one of the Clergy be taken eating in a Tavern, let him be suspended, excepting when he is forced to bait at an Inn upon the Road.

55. If any one of the Clergy abuseth the Bishop unjustly, let him be deprived; for sayeth the Scripture: "*Thou shalt not speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People.*"

56. If any one of the Clergy abuseth a Presbyter or a Deacon, let him be separated.

57. If any one of the Clergy mocketh at a Deaf or Blind Man, or at one lame of his Feet, let him be suspended; and the like for the Laity.

58. A Bishop or Presbyter, who taketh no Care of the Clergy or People, and doth not instruct them in Piety, let him be separated; and if he continue in his Negligence, let him be deprived.

59. If any Bishop or Presbyter, when any one of the Clergy is in want, doth not supply his Necessity, let him be suspended; and if he continue in it, let him be deprived as having killed his Brother.

60. If any one causeth publicly to be read in the Church the spurious Books of the Ungodly, as if they were holy, to the Destruction of the People and of the Clergy, let him be deprived.

61. If there be an Accusation against a Christian for Fornication or Adultery, or any other forbidden Action, and he be convicted, let him not be promoted into the Clergy.

62. If any one of the Clergy, for Fear of Men, as of a Jew, or a Gentile, or an Heretic, shall deny the Name of Christ, let him be suspended; but if he deny the Name

of a Clergyman, let him be deprived; but when he repenteth, let him be received as one of the Laity.

63. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or indeed any one of the Sacerdotal Order, eateth Flesh with the Blood of its Life, or that which is torn by Beasts, or which died of itself, let him be deprived; for this the Law itself has forbidden; but if he be one of the Laity, let him be suspended.

64. If any one of the Clergy be found to fast on the Lord's Day, or on the Sabbath Day, excepting one only, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the Laity, let him be suspended.

65. If any one either of the Clergy or Laity entereth into a Synagogue of the Jews or Heretics to pray, let him be deprived or suspended.

66. If any of the Clergy striketh one in a Quarrel, and killeth him by that one Stroke, let him be deprived on account of his Rashness; but if he be one of the Laity, let him be suspended.

67. If any one has offered Violence to a Virgin not betrothed, and keepeth her, let him be suspended; but it is not lawful for him to take another to Wife, but he must retain her whom he has chosen, although she be poor.

68. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon receiveth a second Ordination from any one, let him be deprived and he who ordained him, unless he can show that his former Ordination was from the Heretics; for those that are either baptized or ordained by such as these can be neither Christians nor Clergymen.

69. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or Reader, or Singer doth not fast the Fast of Forty Days, or the Fourth Day of the Week, and the Day of the Preparation,

let him be deprived, except he be hindered by weakness of Body; but if he be one of the Laity, let him be suspended.

70. If any Bishop, or any other of the Clergy, fasteth with the Jews, or keepeth the Festivals with them, or accepteth of the Presents from their Festivals, as unleavened Bread, or any such Thing, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the Laity, let him be suspended.

71. If any Christian carrieth Oil into a Heathen Temple or into a Synagogue of the Jews, or lighteth up Lamps in their Festivals, let him be suspended.

72. If any one, either of the Clergy or Laity, taketh away from the Holy Church Honey or Oil, let him be suspended, and let him add the fifth Part to that which he took away.

73. A Vessel of Silver or Gold, or Linen, which is sanctified, let no one appropriate it to his own Use, for it is unjust; but if any one be caught, let him be punished with Suspension.

74. If a Bishop be accused of any Crime by credible and faithful Persons, it is necessary that he be cited by the Bishops; and if he cometh and maketh his Apology, and yet is convicted, let his Punishment be determined; but if, when he is cited, he doth not obey, let him be cited a second Time by two Bishops sent to him; but if even then he despiseth them, and will not come, let the Synod pass what Sentence they please against him; that he may not appear to gain advantage by avoiding their Judgment.

75. Do not ye receive an Heretic in a Testimony against a Bishop, nor a Christian if he be single, for the Law sayeth: "*In the mouth of two or three Witnesses, every Word shall be established.*"

76. A Bishop must not gratify his Brother, or his Son, or any other Kinsman, with the Episcopal Dignity, or ordain whom he pleaseth; for it is not just to make Heirs to Episcopacy, and to gratify human Affections in divine Matters; for we must not put the Church of God under the Laws of Inheritance. But if any one shall do so, let his Ordination be invalid, and let him be punished with Suspension.

77. If any one be maimed in an Eye, or lame of his Leg, but is worthy of Episcopal Dignity, let him be made a Bishop; for it is not a Blemish of the Body that can defile him, but the Pollution of the Soul.

78. But if he be deaf and blind, let him not be made a Bishop, not as being a defiled Person, but that the Ecclesiastical Affairs may not be hindered.

79. If any one hath a Demon, let him not be made one of the Clergy; nay, let him not pray with the Believers; but when he is cleansed, let him be received, and, if he be worthy, let him be ordained.

80. It is not right to ordain him Bishop immediately, who is just come in from the Gentiles and baptized or from a wicked Conversation; for it is unjust that he who hath not yet afforded any Trial of himself should be a Teacher of others, unless it anywhere happeneth by divine Grace.

81. We have said, that a Bishop ought not to let himself into public Administrations, but to attend on all Opportunities upon the necessary Affairs of the Church. Either, therefore, let him agree not to do so, or let him be deprived. For, *No one can serve two Masters*, according to the Lord's Admonition.

82. We do not permit Servants to be ordained into the Clergy without their Master's Consent, for this would

grieve those that owned them. For such a Practice would occasion the Subversion of Families. But if at any Time a Servant appeareth worthy to be ordained into an high Office, such as our *Onesimus* appeared to be, and if his Master alloweth of it, and giveth him his Freedom, and dismisseth him from his House, let him be ordained.

83. Let a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who goeth to the Army, and desireth to retain both the Roman Government and the Sacerdotal Administration, be deprived, for: *The Things of Cæsar belong to Cæsar, and the Things of God to God.*

84. Whosbever shall abuse the King or the Governor unjustly, let him suffer Punishment; and if he be a Clergyman, let him be deprived; but if he be a Layman, let him be suspended.

85. Let the following Books be esteemed venerable and holy, by you, both of the Clergy and Laity. Of the Old Covenant: the five Books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, one of Joshua the Son of Nun, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kings, two of the Chronicles, two of Ezra, one of Esther, [one of Judith,] three of the Maccabees, one of Job, one hundred and fifty Psalms, three Books of Solomon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, sixteen Prophets. And besides these, take care that your young Persons learn the Wisdom of the very learned Sirach But our sacred Books, that is, those of the new Covenant, are these: the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the fourteen Epistles of Paul, two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement, and the Constitutions dedicated to

you the Bishops, by me Clement, in eight Books, which it is not fit to publish before all, because of the Mysteries contained in them, and the Acts of us the Apostles.

Let these Canonical Rules be established by us for you, O ye Bishops, and if you continue to observe them, ye shall be saved, and shall have Peace; but if you be disobedient, you shall be punished, and have everlasting War one with another, and undergo a Penalty suitable to your Disobedience.

Now God, who alone is unbegotten, and the Maker of the whole World, unite you all through his Peace in the Holy Spirit, perfect you unto every good Work, immovable, unblamable, and unreprovable, and vouchsafe to you Eternal Life with us through the Mediation of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour; with whom Glory be to Thee, the God over all, and the Father, in the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

The End of the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles by Clement, which are the Catholic Doctrine.

NOTES

TO

THE CHURCH- AND HOUSE-BOOK OF THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH.

TO THE FIRST BOOK.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE CRITICAL WORKS RESPECTING THE ORDINANCES OF BAPTISM.

On this whole subject the seventh volume of *Augusti's* Denkwürdigkeiten (1825) deserves to be consulted. On the particular subject itself we have remarkable Monographs by two truly learned and critical divines of the German Roman-Catholic School:

Dr. *Fr. Brenner*, Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe, von Christus bis auf unsere Zeiten. 1818.

Dr. *J. B. Hirscher*, Ueber das Verhältniss der Evangeliums zu der theologischen Scholastik der neuesten Zeit im katholischen Deutschland. 1823.

Besides a very learned exposition by a Lutheran divine:

Höfling, Das Sacrament der Taufe. Erl. 1846.

The works of Brenner and Hirscher deserve particular credit for the frankness and intrepidity of their researches.

But also the book of *Drey*, on the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, frequently quoted in our Second Volume, claims respect, not only for its true learning, but also for the evident sincerity of the author. Thus where he mentions the Ordinance that the baptized is to pray the Lord's Prayer before the whole Congregation, he observes that this is an acknowledgment of the general priesthood of every Christian, the Catechumen acting as priest in that significant ceremony. This is in the spirit of the words of St. Jerome, in his "Dialogue against Lucifer" (ch. 2.): "Sacerdotium laici, id est baptisma."

NOTE A.

ON CHRYSOSTOMUS' RECORD OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF BAPTISM IN THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

NEANDER, in his Johannes Chrysostomus, has proved (p. 180., compare notes p. 331—338.) that Chrysostomus wrote these sermons when he was Presbyter of the Church of Antioch. His record is therefore a document of the formularies of that Church; and whoever reads it will feel that he speaks on them as of a traditional text, not the produce of his generation.

The corresponding prayer in the eighth book of the Greek Constitutions (Augusti, Denkw. vii. p. 138—141.) is evidently nothing but an enlarged and detailed remodelling of that ancient formulary. It is followed there by a formulary for the prayer which the Bishop pronounces when he is going to give the blessing to the Catechumens.

NOTE B.

ON THE CREED OF THE APOSTLES.

Introduction.

WHAT is called the Creed of the Apostles, or the Apostolic Creed, is a formula grown out of the baptismal instruction given by Christ to the Apostles, according to the conclusion of our Gospel of St. Matthew:

> "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing (immersing) them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

We find this evangelic form of the confession of the Father, and the Son, and the Spirit, almost in its primitive simplicity, recorded by the baptismal order of the Church of Alexandria, as we shall still more clearly prove by the criticism of its text. We meet in the Church of Rome with an amplification, which is already nearer our present Creed. The Greek text of the Apostolic Constitutions gives us an overcharged amplification of the same form. But, whatever the extent of amplification was, this pledge of faith never was intended, in the ante-Nicene Church, to express the philosophical consciousness of the Church as discussed in the Schools. The Creed of the Apostles was gradually made an epitome of the leading facts related in the Gospel as to the Father, Son, and Spirit. The second article thus exhibits in short phrases what is related in the Gospels as to the life of Jesus; and the Coptic ritual shows that this amplification existed first as a separate supplement, to be recited after the general pledge. The consciousness of the connection of the belief in the Church and her destiny, with

the confession of the Spirit, formed gradually the third article.

The epitome can claim no value but faithfulness, and no authority but that of its source.

Still the point round which these epitomized elements have crystallized is that which constitutes the whole doctrinal consciousness of the ancient Church: the belief in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit.

This is, in the mind of the Primitive Church, the only real doctrinal point respecting which the historical records of Christianity are in the highest sense authoritative. The rest is considered by that Church as disciplinary, subject to the development of the Spirit in the congregation: so in Baptism itself, so in Communion, so in all which belongs to ethical philosophy, and to combination of Christian ideas with history and science.

The most remarkable and important character of the Apostles' Creed is consequently this, that it means and intends to be nothing but an epitome of the New Testament based upon the belief in that divine threefoldness. This is what characterizes Christianity in the history of the religions of the world. Philosophical formularies may take that form of a confession of belief, of a Creed: but they stand upon their own ground, and belong to the Schools, not to the general consciousness of the Church; nothing is farther from the spirit and intentions of the ancient Church, than to make such school-formularies pledges of the communion with Christ.

The false, uncritical, unhistorical, and in great part dishonest, patchwork of the seventeenth century, has brought forward as ante-Nicene Creeds many formularies, which either are not ante-Nicene at all, or are philosophical and doctrinal formulas, not historical and baptismal (catechetic) epitomes. It is our duty to eliminate both. We must not, with Bull, Pearson, and Bingham, admit

among ante-Nicene Church Creeds, and as Creed of the Alexandrian Church, that formulary which Arius and his friend presented to Constantine, and which Socrates has preserved. It is evidently the doctrinal formulary of that learned party. Nor can we admit the formulary of Gregory the Thaumaturg, which we know only through post-Nicene writers, and which is a doctrinal fiction, a metaphysical formulary which he received (says Gregory of Nyssa) in a vision, and not at all an ecclesiastical confession. Nor must we quote that of Lucian the Confessor, which, if genuine, is, again, nothing but the speculation of one of the theological schools, and, besides, is only known through Hilarius, and bears the stamp of interpolation on its face. Nor can we allow, on the authority of Cassianus, and against all internal evidence, a similar formulary to be the Creed of the Church of Antioch; we do not know, even, that it represents the theological formula of some of its divines. Least of all can an honest criticism admit as Creeds of the ancient Church those formularies which are found in the so-called Liturgies of St. James, and St. Peter, and St. Mark; all forged works, posterior, like the Liturgy forced into the eighth book of the Constitutions, to the Council of Ephesus. It would be useless to say a word on this subject after the researches of Neander, Rothe, Hagenbach, and many other German critics.

But if we must sweep these fictions or speculations out of the sanctuary of the Church of the second and third centuries, we are enabled, on the other hand, to give some real Church Creeds of the ante-Nicene age, which have since come to light, and we shall, perhaps, be enabled by them better to recognize the stages through which our Creeds have passed.

All the historical Creeds, called Apostolic, necessarily had the tendency of becoming gradually more extended,

together with the consciousness of the Church respecting her faith, in consequence of certain heretical intrusions into the doctrine respecting Father, Son, and Spirit.

These additions are interpolations as to the form, but must rather be considered as intrusions than as falsifications. Some were, as it appears, originally intended merely as illustrations by juxta-position. But in all cases it is interesting to know, or to find out, what the original form of a given Church Creed was. It takes off the doctrinal sharpness of some doubtful points, and reduces all these formularies to their real value, as baptismal epitomes of the evangelical accounts, grouped round the confession of Father, Son, and Spirit, prescribed by the Gospel of St. Matthew for baptism. It also shows which is the right interpretation of the single articles. Whoever sees this truth can but lament the blindness which makes out of such Creeds a new revelation, or imposes their literal expression upon the Christian conscience as a rule of faith, collateral with, or even superior to, the true Apostolic tradition contained in the New Testament.

All that has been said about the mystery respecting the Creed of the Apostles as a secret formula, and therefore learned by heart, not read out of book, is sheer nonsense. What could there be of secret doctrine or mystery to be veiled in an epitome of the words of Scripture? The Creed was not given to the Catechumens in writing, that they might learn it by heart, as one of the Fathers says expressly. This Creed was said, not sung: very naturally; so was the Scripture of which it was an epitome. Still, at a later period, the schoolmen found mysterious reasons also for that: theological fiction that too!

I. *The Creed of the Church of Rome.*

We know the primitive form of this Creed by various undoubted documents which the reader will find discussed in Usserius De Symbolis: in particular by an Anglo-Saxon Psalterium of the year 703. St. Augustin explains this text in his treatise De Fide et Symbolo; we read the same text in Greek in Epiphanius (Hær. 72.), as inserted by one of the opponents of Arius, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra. into his formulary.

The two articles,

"he descended into hell,"

and

"the Communion of Saints,"

are, indeed, not found in any genuine form of Confession of our age. The first was inserted as explanation of the preceding "he was buried," the other as explanation of the "holy Church," as being the congregation of the Believers, united amongst each other by Christ.

The following text exhibits the difference between the primitive form as given in our Text-Book, which most likely was fixed in the earlier part or the middle of the second century, and originally Greek, and the later formulary of the Latin Church as the Reformed Churches received it. The additions are put between brackets.

I believe in God the Father Almighty:
[*Maker of Heaven and Earth:*]
And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord:
Who was [*conceived*] by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,
Suffered under Pontius Pilate,
Was crucified [*dead*] and buried,
[*He descended into Hell,*]
The third day he rose again from the dead,

He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of [*God*] the Father [*Almighty*],
From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost:
The Holy [*Catholic*] Church:
[*The Communion of Saints:*]
The forgiveness of sins:
The resurrection of the body:
[*And the life everlasting.*]
Amen.

II. *The Creed of the Church of Alexandria.*

This is only known to us by the Coptic Constitutions of the Apostles, edited 1848. Its form there is the following:

I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty:
And in his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour:
And in the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life:
the Trinity of the same Substance:
One Sovereignty, One Kingdom, One Faith, One Baptism:
in the holy Catholic Apostolic Church:
in the life everlasting.
Amen.

Every body sees that the "Τριὰς ὁμοούσιος" is an intrusion. But so is also the following line, which is a confused and abstract imitation of the grand words of St. Paul (Eph. iv. 5.): "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all,

and in all." The natural construction of the whole article reappears only in the next lines:

in the holy Catholic Apostolic Church,
in the life everlasting.

These two were therefore the first additions, and the two intermediate lines later intrusions. Still the first of those two concluding lines is in its present form not primitive, and the second is not found in the genuine forms of the Apostolic Creeds of our age. The necessary consequence, therefore, is, that the whole latter part is not primitive.

The subjoined texts show the gradual progress of extension, as the present text exhibits the final interpolation.

1. *The Primitive Form.*

I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty:
And in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour:
And in the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life.

2. *The First Addition.*

I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty:
And in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour:
And in the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life,
in the Holy Church,
in the Life everlasting.

3. *The Second Addition, placed between the original Text and the Appendix.*

I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty:
And in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour:
And in the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life,

One Sovereignty, One Kingdom, One Faith, One Baptism,
in the Holy Church,
in the life everlasting.

III. *The Apostles' Creed according to the Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.*

THE authority of the Coptic Baptismal Canons, as being the most authentic text of the most ancient chapter of the Apostolic Ordinances, would suffice to show that this formulary is not a historical, but a scholastic one. The examination of the contents leads to the same conclusion. I have therefore given it merely as an Appendix. But, on the other side, I believe it to be a scholastic formulary of our age. It expresses, on the whole, the learned consciousness of the Church about the middle of the third century, and is as little Arian as it is Athanasian. Compared with the formularies of Hippolytus and Origen, it shows its character as being decidedly more universal, and less scholastic. After the words, "the first-born of the whole creation," only some of the manuscripts have the watchword of the school "not created."

TO THE THIRD BOOK.

NOTE C.

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE PSALMS AND HYMNS OF THE APOSTOLICAL CHURCH.

Critical Introduction.

IT has been already observed in the First Volume (pp. 282—285.) that all Christian Church poetry has flowed, as to the form, from one of two great sources of Christian thought: the Hebrew or the Semitic, and the Hellenic and Roman or the Japhetic, elements. The Christians first composed and sang imitations of the Hebrew Psalms, which were either simple centos, strings of Psalm verses, or entirely new compositions conceived in the antiphonic spirit of Hebrew poetry, and therefore without any metre, and meant to be intoned or sung alternately. As to this sort of composition, the Psalmodic verse of the Angels and the three Psalms or Canticles of the New Testament, as preserved by St. Luke's Gospel, had led the way. We possess still four compositions of this kind, real gems, genuine relics of ancient, congregational, and domestic hymnology. The first three of them have been delivered to us by the Alexandrian MS. of the Bible, as an Appendix to the Psalms of the Old Testament. They form part of the Bible, preceded by the last Psalm of the Old Testament, and followed by the first chapter of Job.

The first (see A. I. p. 141.) is preceded by the rubric: Ὕμνος ἑωθινός, Morning Hymn, and is written in lyric

lines. But there is no trace in it of any metre; and indeed it would be quite inexplicable, if we found in it any but the primitive Hebrew element. For this Morning Hymn of the Primitive Church is evidently alluded to by Pliny, and we find it early used and held in high veneration by the whole Church. It must therefore in its substance be as old as the Johannean writings, if not older. But it is indeed easily reducible to the antiphonic system of Hebrew poetry.

The Greek Church has preserved this relic in its Liturgy as the Ὕμνος ἀγγελικός, the Angelic Hymn, which name is derived from the introductory verse of the Song of the Angels at the birth of Christ. (Luk. ii. 14.) About the year 380, Hilarius, it appears, transferred this Hymn, in his liturgical compositions and collections, from the Greek to the Latin Church, according to a text not entirely concordant with that of the Alexandrian Codex. The Roman Church has received the Hymn into the first part of the Communion Service, as a Psalm of Thanksgiving (Doxologia magna or major) after the Absolution; it appears here already as prose, and with some remarkable variations most likely according to the text of Hilarius. The text of the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 47.) is also printed as prosaic prayer, and with variations betraying the hand of one who wished to make that psalmodic effusion a sheer prose prayer, with some doctrinal phrases. The juxtaposition of the three texts will best explain the details.

But that juxtaposition also gives us the clue to the original form of the Hymn. Of the two lines

καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
κύριε ὁ θεός

the first is wanting, and the second is made to form the

beginning of the Christological part of the Hymn. The Constitutions omit equally the words, "And the Holy Spirit;" but, as to the words "Lord God," they give them as the conclusion of the first part of the Hymn which praises the Father. Now this arrangement, if it were not supported by the official Latin text, would prove nothing; as the original text has evidently been paraphrased, and may have been tampered with in the Constitutions. But who can believe that the Roman Church would have omitted something she found in the Greek text which she adopted for her Latin service? Finally, the whole construction of the Hymn shows that those lines interrupt most clumsily the Patrologic and the Christologic parts. The intercalation of the words, "and the Holy Spirit," was made in order to make this ancient document of Christian piety and devotion express the faith in Father, Son, and Spirit. The Latin text has made this intercalation too, but not here: it is placed at the end. This circumstance makes the one an evidence against the other, and proves that both texts have undergone some change. Now the two invocations of the Spirit being removed, the question arises: What becomes of the words "Lord God?" As the Alexandrian MS. is without interpunction, or division of strophes, it is impossible to decide from it whether, after the invocation of the Spirit had been added, the words κύριε ὁ θεός were understood as forming the conclusion of the preceding sentence, or constituting the beginning of the second, the Christological part. The later Church has undoubtedly referred the words to Christ, as heading the invocation of Him. But certainly this in itself points to the post-Nicene period, when such expressions as the ancient Church never dreamt of applying to Christ, were studiously applied (or made to apply) to Him.

Now, if the words κύριε ὁ θεός must have belonged to the first part, it is clear that they were, after the interpolation of the Spirit, understood as referring to Father, Son, and Spirit; forming a concluding comprehensive invocation of the Deity. But it is also clear that such an interpretation became only possible after the interpolation. Before that intercalation, the words must have stood before the words, "Thou, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ," and have referred to the Father. As soon as we restore them to this their original place, we have a solemn conclusion of the address to the Father, and a natural beginning of the invocation of the Divine Word, Jesus the Christ. Our restored text speaks for itself. The Hymn consists of a double invocation; first of the Father, and then of Jesus the Christ. Now only we can understand Pliny's words perfectly: "they sing, alternately between themselves (in alternate choirs), and praise Christ as if he were a God" (tanquam Deum), not "as their God."

As to the other variations between the Greek and Latin text, external and internal evidence speaks in favour of the first. Of these variations that in the last words is of some importance: "in the glory of God," instead of "for the glory of God."

Upon these grounds rests the entire restoration of the primitive text, which we subjoin to that of the MS.

The second and third Psalmodic Hymns (see A. II. III. p. 141. 143.) are already in the Alexandrian MS. jumbled into one, which has produced a singular misunderstanding of Usher. He has called the whole "The Evening Hymn," evidently as the counterpart of what precedes in the MS. This guess, indeed, is supported by the concluding words; but it is irreconcilable with the second verse: "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin."

On the contrary the first three verses, concluding with "Amen," form another Morning Hymn, perhaps originating in use for private devotion. The composition is very simple: the prayer just quoted is placed between two Psalm verses. The "Amen" marks the conclusion.

The remainder constitutes the Evening Psalm of the ancient Church. This is merely a cento of verses and hemistichs of Psalms, or that sort of composition which has given origin to many of our most ancient and beautiful antiphonies. There is a spiritual and intellectual feeling visible in the selection and in the composition.

Of this Evening Psalm there is no trace in the later liturgies: but the short verse which constitutes what is original in the preceding Morning Psalm, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin," has been preserved to us in the Psalm of Thanksgiving of the Western Church, which we call the Te Deum.

The Apostolical Constitutions (VII. 48.) give the Song of Simeon as an Evening Hymn. In our MSS. it is printed as second part of a Psalmodic composition which forms the counterpart of the primitive Morning Hymn, or the Greater Doxology, and is an imitation of the same. This composition proves that the words, "We praise thee," &c., were considered as a separate piece. The preceding words of the Angelic song were placed at the head of the later composition, as a sacred text. This arrangement is common both to the Morning and the Evening Psalm of the early Christians. One may conjecture that this imitation refers to a still simpler form of that beautiful Morning Thanksgiving, but there is no documentary proof for this. (See ℭ. p. 144.)

This is all we possess of authentic and genuine of the ante-Nicene psalmody and hymnology of Christendom, as

far as it adopted the Hebrew form. These then are the Psalmodic compositions of the ancient Church in the stricter sense.

But we have at least one composition of Hellenic source: the Ave-Maria Hymn, as we might call it, from the present Italian custom of marking by prayer the complete setting of the sun, or more accurately the moment when the candles are lighted. (See 33. p. 144.) It is also called the "Hymn of the Kindling of the Lamp" (Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ). Usher (whose notes on the Alexandrian MS. we subjoin) has not only proved that Basilius the Great (or whoever may be the author of the remarkable and learned treatise on the Holy Spirit) refers to the "Thanksgiving of the Lighting of Candles" as "an ancient pious voice of the people," but he has also happily guessed that the beginning may refer to the custom of the ancient Greeks, who, according to Varro, said when the light was brought in, φῶς ἀγαθόν, "the good light" or "the light is good;" as the Italians say, on the same occasion, "Felicissima sera." The Christians of the Greek tongue transferred these words, with a slight variation; suiting the prayer and its object to the Hymn with which they greeted the Evening Star and the Domestic Lamp, elevating thence their thoughts to the eternal light of the soul. Usher is not right in supposing that the Ἐπιλύχνιος ψαλμός and the Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ are the same; the first is Davidic, the latter Hellenic; but they were probably used indifferently.

Usher's Notes to the two primitive Christian Psalmodies.

Ad finem veterum psalteriorum Latinorum cum Apostolico et Athanasiano symbolo etiam hymnus iste habetur adjectus (Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, &c.). In antiquissimo Cottoniano, ἀνεπί-

γραφος est: in Æthelstaniano proximo, "hymnus in die Dominico ad Matutinas," inscribitur. In Sarisburiensis ecclesiæ uno, circa annum DCCCCLXXX. exarato; orationis puræ cum laudatione titulum præfert: in Benedictini apud Cantabrigiensis collegii vetustiore altero (Marini papæ et Karlomanni regis temporibus, jussu Achadei comitis, circa annum DCCCLXXXIV. in Gallia conscripto) hymni angelici, quod initium nempe illius, ex hymno in Domini natalitio, Luc. cap. 2. ver. 13, 14. ab exercitibus cœlestibus decantato, esset desumptum; nam reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt; ut in concilii Toletani iv. capitulo 12. est probe observatum. Videturque omnino hymnus iste, tanto consensu tum in orientalibus tum in occidentalibus ecclesiis (uti nos eum hic edidimus) receptus, ex eorum fuisse numero, quorum vetus author qui contra Artemonis hæresim scripsit (apud Eusebium, libro 5. Histor. Ecclesiastic. κεφ. κη') hisce verbis meminit. Ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι, τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι Θεολογοῦντες· quorum sententiam ita Rufinus reddidit. "Sed et psalmi vel cantica ab initio scripta sunt, quæ a fratribus fidelibus Verbum Dei esse Christum et Deum, tota hymnorum suorum laude concelebrant." Προσευχῆς ἑωθινῆς titulum in Constitut. Apostolic. lib. 7. cap. 48. (al. 47.) præfixum habet: Ὕμνου ἑωθινοῦ, ad finem Psalterii Græci, tum in Benedictino Cantabrigiensium collegio [quod anno Mundi 6663, sive Christi 1158, fuit scriptum]; tum in omnium antiquissimo exemplari Alexandrino, majusculis literis exarato, quod in regis nostri bibliotheca conservatur, ubi στιχηδὸν descriptus ille habetur: hac etiam Oda insuper addita.

Usher's Notes to the Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ.

VESPERTINUS hic hymnus matutino, Benedictino, de quo diximus, codice subjunctus est et in altero psalterio Græco, anno mundi 6844, indictione 4, hoc est æræ Christianæ 1336, descripto, in publica Oxoniensis academiæ bibliotheca, Ὕμνος τοῦ

λυχνικοῦ inscribitur; quod recitari soleret, quum lumen inferretur. De quo more Socrates libro 5. Histor. Ecclesiastic. κεφ. κϑ' · "Ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ Θεσσαλίᾳ τὰς ἐν ταῖς λυχναφίαις εὐχὰς παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ναυατιανοῖς ποιοῦνται. In Græcia et Hierosolymis et Thessalia, cum accenduntur lucernæ, ejusmodi preces fiunt, quales a Novatianis Constantinopoli degentibus aguntur." Et hunc ipsum hymnum respiciens Basilius, in lib. de Spiritu sancto ad Amphilochium, cap. 29. "Ἔδοξε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν μὴ σιωπῇ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ φωτὸς δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς φανέντος εὐχαριστεῖν. Καὶ ὅστις μὲν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν. ὁ μέν τοι λαὸς ἀρχαίαν ἀφίησι τὴν φώνην, καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβεῖν ἐνομίσθησαν οἱ λέγοντες· Αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. Visum est patribus nostris, vespertini luminis gratiam haudquaquam silentio arripere, sed mox ut apparuit agere gratias. Quis autem fuerit author illorum verborum, quæ dicuntur in gratiarum actione ad lucernas, dicere non possumus. Populus tamen antiquam profert vocem; neque cuiquam umquam visi sunt impietatem committere, quum dicunt: Laudamus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum Dei." Et licet Nicephoro Callisti, lib. 18. Histor. Ecclesiast. cap. 51. non facile concesserim, hymnum hunc jam inde ab apostolis per manus Ecclesiæ Christi fuisse traditum: esse tamen ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμόν illum, cujus in Constitut. Apostolic. lib. 8. cap. 35. (al. 41.) facta est mentio, non multum repugnaverim. Ut quemadmodum Græci (apud Varronem, de Lingua Latina libro 5.) cum lumen adferretur, dicere fuerunt soliti, Φῶς ἀγαθόν: ita et Christiani suum Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης, in laudem illius qui est ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης Dei et Patris, canere consueverint.

A.

THE GREEK TEXT OF THE MORNING AND EVENING PSALMS OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS, ACCORDING TO THE ALEXANDRIAN CODEX OF THE BIBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

I. THE MORNING HYMN: "*Glory be to God on high.*"

1. According to the Alexandrian Manuscript, compared with the Text of the Greek Constitutions and the Official Text of the Roman Church.

Constitut. Apostol.	*Cod. Alex.* (Ὕμνος ἑωθινός.)	*Libri rituales Eccl. Occ.* (*St. Hilarius.*)
Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.	Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκεία	Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax, hominibus bonæ voluntatis.
Αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν, σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως σὲ τὸν ὄντα Θεὸν, ἀγέννητον ἕνα, ἀπρόσιτον μόνον, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σοῦ δόξαν.	αἰνοῦμέν σε εὐλογοῦμέν σε προσκυνοῦμέν σε εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σοῦ δόξαν	Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, *glorificamuste.* gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.
Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε Θεὲ πάτερ παντόκρατορ, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, προσδέξαι	κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε Θεὸς πάτερ παντοκράτωρ κύριε υἱὲ μονογενὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς	Domine *Deus*, rex cœlestis, Deus pater omnipotens, Domine fili unigenite, Jesu Christe . . . . . Domine Deus, agnus Dei, filius patris, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis,

τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χέρουβιμ. ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ μόνος κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τίμη καὶ σέβας.	ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. Ἀμήν.	qui tollis peccata mundi, ... suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram patris *miserere nobis.* Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, *tu solus altissimus,* Jesu Christe. *Cum Sancto spiritu,* In gloria Dei patris. Amen.

2. The Text restored to its primitive Form.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ·
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (or εὐδοκία).

Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε·
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σοῦ δόξαν
Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, θεὸς πατὴρ αὐτοκράτωρ·
Κύριε ὁ θεός.

Κύριε υἱὲ μονογενή·
Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·
Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ·
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρός·
Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·
Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν·
Ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος·
σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος·
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός·
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. Ἀμήν.

II. THE MORNING VERSE BETWEEN PSALM VERSES.

From the Alexandrian Manuscript.

Καθ'[1] ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε·
καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.
Καταξίωσον, κύριε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.
Εὐλογητὸς[2] εἶ, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν·
καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
Ἀμήν.

III. THE EVENING PSALM COMPOSED FROM PSALM VERSES.

From the Alexandrian Manuscript.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ[3], κύριε, δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.
Κύριε[4], καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.
Ἐγὼ[5] εἶπα, κύριε, ἐλέησόν με·
ἴασαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ὅτι ἥμαρτόν σοι.
Κύριε[6], πρός σε κατέφυγον.
Δίδαξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου·
ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός μου.
Ὅτι[7] παρά σοι πηγὴ ζωῆς·
ἐν φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.
Παράτεινον[8] τὸ ἔλεος σοῦ τοῖς γινώσκουσίν σε.

[1] Psalm cxlv. 2.
[2] Tobit, viii. 5.
[3] Psalm cxix. 12.
[4] Psalm xc. 1.
[5] Psalm xli. 4.
[6] Psalm cxliii. 9, 10.
[7] Psalm xxxvi. 9.
[8] Psalm xxxvi. 10.

B.

THE CANDLE HYMN OF THE GREEK CHRISTIANS.

According to ancient Manuscripts.

(Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ.)

Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης
ἀθανάτου πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·
ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν,
ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινὸν
ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.
ἄξιος εἶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς
ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίαις,
υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς·
διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

C.

THE EVENING HYMN OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. (VII. 48.)

Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες κύριον·
αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.

Αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σοῦ δόξαν,
Κύριε βασιλεῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ·
τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου·
Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος
σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος·
Σοὶ δόξα πρέπει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐν πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν.

Also the SONG OF SIMEON (Nunc dimittis).

NOTES

TO

THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS.

NOTE D.

THE ORIGINAL GREEK AND LATIN TEXT OF THE TWO COLLECTIONS.

Κάνονες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.

α'. (1.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω δύο ἢ τριῶν· πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.

β'. (2.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, παρὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἕτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα, ἐπιτηδευτὰ, ἢ ὄρνεις, ἢ ζωά τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια, παρὰ τὴν

(Ex Versione Dionysii Exigui.)

De ordinatione Episcopi.

I. Episcopus a duobus aut tribus Episcopis ordinetur.

De ordinatione Presbyteri et Diaconi et ceterorum.

II. Presbyter ab uno Episcopo ordinetur, et Diaconi et reliqui Clerici.

Nihil aliud in sacrificio, præter quod Dominus statuit, offerendum.

III. Si quis Episcopus aut Presbyter, præter ordinationem Domini, alia quædam in sacrificio offerat super altare: id est, aut mel, aut lac, aut pro vino siceram, aut confecta quædam, aut volatilia, aut animalia aliqua,

διάταξιν, καθαιρείσθω· τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δεόντι, πλὴν νέων χίδρων ἢ στάχυας σίτου, ἢ σταφυλῆς, μὴ ἐξὸν ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τι πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς θείας ἀναφορᾶς. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη πᾶσα ὀπώρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλέσθω ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, δῆλον δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς.

aut legumina, contra constitutionem Domini faciens, deponatur.

Quæ species ad altare, non ad sacrificium, sed ad benedictionem simplicem, debeant.

IV. Congruo tempore offerri* non liceat aliquid ad altare præter novas spicas et uvas; et oleum ad luminaria et thymiama, id est, incensum, tempore quo sancta celebratur oblatio.

(* In editis male: congruo tempore deponatur. IV. Offerri, etc.)

Quod ea quæ in Ecclesiis offerri non possunt, ad domus sacerdotum a fidelibus deferantur.

V. Reliqua poma omnia ad domum, primitiæ Episcopo et Presbyteris, dirigantur, nec offerantur in altari. Certum est autem, quod Episcopus et Presbyteri dividant et Diaconis et reliquis Clericis.

γ'. (3.)

Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος,

Ut Episcopus aut Presbyter uxorem suam, quam debet caste regere, non relinquat.

VI. Episcopus aut Pre-

ἢ διάκονος, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω, προφάσει εὐλαβείας, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβαλῇ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω.

sbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat: si vero rejicerit, excommunicetur; et si perseveraverit, dejiciatur. (Cf. Dist. 28. c. 14.; Dist. 31. in c. 9.)

Ut Sacerdotes et Ministri altaris sæcularibus curis abstineant.

δ'. (4.)

Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέσθω· εἰ δὲ μή γε, καθαιρείσθω.

VII. Episcopus aut Presbyter aut Diaconus nequaquam sæculares curas adsumat: sin aliter, dejiciatur.

Quo tempore Pascha celebretur.

ε'. (5.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν πρὸ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελέσῃ, καθαιρείσθω.

VIII. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, sanctam Paschæ diem ante vernale æquinoctium, cum Judæis, celebraverit, abjiciatur.

Quod Ministri altaris, oblatione celebrata, debeant communicare.

ϛ'. (6.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, προσφορᾶς γενομένης, μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγῃ, ἀφο-

IX. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, vel quilibet ex sacerdotali catalogo, facta oblatione, non communicaverit; aut caussam dicat, ut si rationabilis fuerit, veniam conse-

ριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενηθεὶς τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ἐμποιήσας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος ὡς μὴ ὑγιῶς ἀνενεγκόντος.

quatur; aut si non dixerit, communione privetur, tamquam qui populo caussa læsionis extiterit, dans suspicionem de eo qui sacrificavit, quod recte non obtulerit.

ζ'. (7.)

Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἂν ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.

Quod fideles Laici, ingredientes Ecclesiam, communicare debeant.

X. Omnes fideles, qui ingrediuntur Ecclesiam et Scripturas audiunt, non autem perseverant in oratione, nec sanctam communionem percipiunt, velut inquietudines Ecclesiæ commoventes, convenit communione privari.

(Cf. De Consecrat. Dist. 15. c. 62.)

η'. (8.)

Εἴ τις ἀκοινωνήτῳ, κἂν ἐν οἴκῳ συνεύξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφοριζέσθω.

Quod cum excommunicatis non sit orandum.

XI. Si quis cum excommunicato, saltem in domo, simul oraverit, iste communione privetur.

θ'. (9.)

Εἴ τις καθῃρημένῳ κληρικὸς ὢν ὡς κληρικῷ συνεύξηται, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτός.

Quod cum damnatis Clericis non sit orandum.

XII. Si quis cum damnato Clerico, veluti cum Clerico, simul oraverit, iste damnetur.

ι'. (10.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς, ἢ λαϊκὸς, ἀφωρισμένος, ἤτοι δικτὸς*, ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει, δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφωριζέσθωσαν οἱ δεξάμενοι καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. εἰ δὲ ἀφωρισμένος ᾖ, ἐπιτεινέσθω αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφορισμὸς, ὡς ψευσαμένῳ καὶ ἀπατήσαντι ἐκκλησίαν Θεοῦ.

(* Editur male: ἄδεκτος.)

Ut nullus fidelium, præter commendaticias suscipiatur Epistolas.

XIII. Si quis Clericus, aut Laicus, a communione suspensus, seu communicans, ad aliam properet civitatem, et suscipiatur præter commendaticias litteras, et qui susceperunt, et qui susceptus est, communione priventur. Excommunicato vero proteletur ipsa correptio, tamquam qui mentitus sit, et Ecclesiam Dei seduxerit.

ια'. (11.)

Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιπεδᾶν, κἂν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀναγκάζηται· εἰ μή τις εὔλογος αἰτία ᾖ, ἡ τοῦτο βιαζομένη αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι, ὡς πλεῖόν τι κέρδος δυναμένου αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε λόγῳ εὐσεβείας συμβάλλεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κρίσει πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ παρακλήσει μεγίστῃ.

Ut ab Episcopis aliena Parochia minime pervadatur.

XIV. Episcopo non licere alienam Parochiam, propria relicta, pervadere, licet cogatur a plurimis: nisi forte quis eum rationabilis caussa compellat, tamquam quî possit ibidem constitutis plus lucri conferre, et in caussa religionis aliquid profecto proficere: et hoc non a semetipso pertentet, sed multorum Episcoporum judicio, et maxima supplicatione perficiat.

ιβ'. (12.)

Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν, ἀπολείψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπέλθῃ, καὶ παντελῶς μεταστὰς διατρίβῃ ἐν ἄλλῃ παροικίᾳ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, εἰ μάλιστα προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπισκόπου, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἐπιμένων τῇ ἀνταξίᾳ· ὡς λαϊκὸς μέν τοι ἐκεῖσε κοινωνείτω. εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος παρ' ᾧ τυγχάνουσιν, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενος τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρισθεῖσαν ἀργίαν, δέξηται αὐτοὺς ὡς κληρικούς, ἀφοριζέσθω ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀταξίας.

Ut Clerici proprias Ecclesias non relinquant.

XV. Si quis Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut quilibet de numero Clericorum, relinquens propriam Parochiam, pergat ad alienam, et omnino demigrans, præter Episcopi sui conscientiam, in aliena Parochia commoretur: hunc ulterius ministrare non patimur; præcipue si vocatus ab Episcopo redire contempserit, in sua inquietudine perseverans; verumtamen tamquam Laicus ibi communicet.

Ut Episcopus, qui Clericos alterius susceperit, communione privetur.

XVI. Episcopus vero, apud quem moratos esse constiterit, si contra eos decretam cessationem pro nihilo reputans, tamquam Clericos forte susceperit; velut magister inquietudinis, communione privetur.

ιγ'. (13.)

Ὁ δυσὶ γάμοις συμπλακεὶς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἢ παλλακὴν κτησάμενος, οὐ δύναται

Quod bigami non admittantur ad Clerum.

XVII. Si quis post baptisma secundis fuerit nuptiis copulatus, aut concu-

εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.

binam habuerit, non potest esse Episcopus, non Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut prorsus ex numero eorum qui ministerio sacro deserviunt.
(Dist. 33. c. 1.)

ιδ'. (14.)

Ὁ χήραν λαβὼν, ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην, ἢ ἑταίραν, ἢ οἰκέτιν, ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.

Quod is qui viduam, vel ejectam, aut meretricem acceperit, non admittatur ad Clerum.

XVIII. Si quis viduam, aut ejectam acceperit, aut meretricem, aut ancillam, vel aliquam de his quæ publicis spectaculis mancipantur, non potest esse Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut ex eorum numero qui ministerio sacro deserviunt.
(Dist. 33. c. 15.)

ιε'. (15.)

Ὁ δύο ἀδελφὰς ἀγαγόμενος, ἢ ἀδελφιδῆν, οὐ δύναται εἶναι κληρικός.

Qui duas sorores habuerit non admittatur ad Clerum.

XIX. Qui duas in conjugium sorores acceperit, vel filiam fratris, Clericus esse non poterit.

ις'. (16.)

Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας δίδους, καθαιρείσθω.

Clericum fidejussorem esse non posse.

XX. Clericus fidejussionibus inserviens, abjiciatur.

ιζ'. (17.)

Εὐνοῦχος, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετό τις, ἢ ἐν διωγμῷ ἀφῃρέθη τὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἢ οὕτως ἔφυ, καὶ ἐστὶν ἄξιος ἐπισκοπῆς, γενέσθω. ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσας, μὴ γενέσθω κληρικός· αὐτοφόντης γάρ ἐστιν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός. εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὢν, ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσει, καθαιρείσθω· φονεὺς γάρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ. λαϊκὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀκρωτηριάσας, ἀφοριζέσθω ἔτη τρία· ἐπίβουλος γάρ ἐστιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς.

Quod ii, qui non sponte eunuchizati sunt, suscipiantur ad Clerum.

XXI. Eunuchus, si per insidias hominum factus est, vel si in persecutione ejus sunt amputata virilia, vel si ita natus est, et est dignus, efficiatur Episcopus.

(Dist. 55. c. 8.)

Ut is qui se eunuchizavit, Clericus non fiat.

XXII. Si quis abscidit semetipsum, id est, si quis amputavit sibi virilia, non fiat Clericus, quia sui ipsius homicida est, et Dei conditionis inimicus.

(Dist. 55. c. 4.)

Ut Clericus qui se eunuchizavit, abjiciatur a Clero.

XXIII. Si quis, cum Clericus fuerit, absciderit semetipsum, omnino damnetur, quia suus est homicida.

Ut Laicus qui se eunuchizavit, tribus annis communione privetur.

XXIV. Laicus semetipsum abscindens annis tribus communione privetur, quia suæ vitæ insidiator exstitit.

ιη'. (18.)

Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ὃ πορνείᾳ, ἢ ἐπιορκίᾳ, ἢ κλοπῇ ἁλοὺς, καθαιρείσθω, καὶ μὴ ἀφοριζέσθω· λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· οὐκ ἐκδικήσεις δὶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνθλίψει· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.

Quod Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, si pro criminibus damnati fuerint, minime communione priventur.

XXV. Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, qui in fornicatione aut perjurio aut furto captus est, deponatur; non tamen communione privetur: dicit enim Scriptura: Non vindicabit Dominus bis in id ipsum.

Similiter et reliqui Ministri Ecclesiæ.

XXVI. Similiter et reliqui Clerici huic conditioni subjaceant.

ιθ'. (19.)

Τῶν εἰς κλῆρον παρελθόντων ἀγάμων, κελεύομεν βουλομένους γαμεῖν, ἀναγνώστας καὶ ψάλτας μόνους.

Qui Clerici debeant conjugibus copulari.

XXVII. Innuptis autem qui ad Clerum provecti sunt, præcipimus, ut si voluerint, uxores accipiant; sed Lectores Cantoresque tantummodo.

κ'. (20.)

Ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, τύπτοντα πίστους

Quod Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus fideles peccantes verberare non debeant.

XXVIII. Episcopum, aut Presbyterum, aut Diaconum,

ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἢ ἀπίστους ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων φοβεῖν ἐθέλοντα, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος ταῦτα ἐδίδαξε· τοὐναντίον δὲ, αὐτὸς τυπτόμενος, οὐκ ἀντέτυπτε· λοιδορούμενος, οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει· πάσχων, οὐκ ἠπείλει.

percutientem fideles delinquentes, aut infideles inique agentes, et per hujusmodi volentem timeri, dejici ab officio suo præcipimus: quia nusquam nos Dominus docuit: e contrario vero ipse cum percuteretur, non repercutiebat; cum maledicerétur, non remaledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur.

κα'. (21.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, καθαιρεθεὶς δικαίως ἐπὶ ἐγκλήμασι φανεροῖς, τολμήσειεν ἐφάψασθαι τῆς ποτὲ ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ λειτουργίας· οὗτος παντάπασιν ἐκκοπτέσθω τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Quod officium pristinum, damnati pro criminibus usurpare non debeant.

XXIX. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, depositus juste super certis criminibus, ausus fuerit attrectare ministerium dudum sibi commissum, hic ab Ecclesia penitus abscindatur.

κβ'. (22.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος διὰ χρημάτων τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης ἐγκρατὴς γένηται, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, καθαιρείσθω, καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας, καὶ ἐκκοπτέσθω παντάπασι τὴς κοινωνίας, ὡς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου.

Quod non debeant officia Ecclesiastica pecuniis obtinere.

XXX. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, per pecunias hanc obtinuerit dignitatem, dejiciatur et ipse, et ordinator ejus, et a communione modis omnibus abscindatur; sicut Simon Magus a Petro.

κγ'. (23.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἄρχουσι χρησάμενος, δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐκκλησίας γένηται, καθαιρείσθω, καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.

Ut Ecclesia sæculari potentia minime pervadatur.

XXXI. Si quis Episcopus sæcularibus potestatibus usus, Ecclesiam per ipsos obtineat, deponatur, et segregentur omnes qui illi communicant.

(Dist. 63. c. 7.)

κδ'. (24.)

Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, χωρὶς συναγάγῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ, μηδὲν κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος· τύραννος γάρ ἐστιν· καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοὶ ὅσοι ἂν αὐτῷ προσθῶνται· οἱ δὲ λαϊκοὶ ἀφοριζέσθωσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν ἢ καὶ τρίτην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παράκλησιν γινέσθω.

De Presbytero qui contempto Episcopo seorsum conventus congregare tentaverit.

XXXII. Si quis Presbyter, contemnens Episcopum suum, seorsum collegerit, et altare aliud erexerit, nihil habens quo reprehendat Episcopum in caussa pietatis et justitiæ, deponatur, quasi principatus amator existens: est enim tyrannus: et cæteri Clerici, quicumque tali consentiunt, deponantur, Laici vero segregentur. Hæc autem post unam et secundam et tertiam Episcopi obtestationem fieri conveniat.

κε'. (25.)

Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται

Quod Clerici damnati non debeant ab aliis recipi.

XXXIII. Si quis Presbyter, aut Diaconus, ab

ἐν ἀφορίσμῳ, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ἑτέρου δεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀφορίσαντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγκυρίαν τελευτήσῃ ὁ ἀφορίσας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος.

Episcopo suo segregetur, hunc non licere ab alio recipi, sed ab ipso qui eum sequestraverit, nisi forsitan obierit Episcopus ipse, qui eum segregasse cognoscitur.

κϛ'. (26.)

Μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἄνευ συστατικῶν γραμμάτων προσδέχεσθε. καὶ ἐπιφερομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀνακρινέσθωσαν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ὦσι κήρυκες τῆς εὐσεβείας, προσδεχέσθωσαν· εἰ δὲ μή γε, τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας αὐτοῖς ἐπιχορηγήσαντες, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσδέξησθε· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ συναρπαγὴν γίνεται.

Ut nullus Episcopus, Presbyter, aut Diaconus, sine commendaticiis suscipiatur Epistolis.

XXXIV. Nullus Episcoporum peregrinorum, aut Presbyterorum, aut Diaconorum, sine commendaticiis suscipiatur Epistolis: et cum scripta detulerint, discutiantur attentius, et ita suscipiantur, si prædicatores pietatis existerint; sin minus, et quæ sunt necessaria submini-strentur eis, et ad communionem nullatenus admittantur; quia per subreptionem multa proveniunt.

κζ'. (27.)

Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς

De primatu Episcoporum.

XXXV. Episcopos gentium singularum scire convenit, quis inter eos primus habeatur, quem velut caput existiment, et nihil amplius præter ejus conscientiam gerant, quam illa sola singuli, quæ Parochiæ propriæ,

π' αὐτὴν χώραις. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι. οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται, καὶ δοξασθήσεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

et villis quæ sub ea sunt, competunt. Sed nec ille, præter omnium conscientiam, faciat aliquid. Sic enim unanimitas erit, et glorificabitur Deus per Christum in Spiritu sancto.

κη'. (28.)

Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιείσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις ἢ χώρας. εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς, παρὰ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ἢ τὰς χώρας γνώμην, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οὓς ἐχειροτόνησεν.

Quod non liceat Episcopum in aliena provincia Clericos ordinare.

XXXVI. Episcopum non audere extra terminos proprios ordinationes facere in civitatibus et villis, quæ illi nullo jure subjectæ sunt. Si vero convictus fuerit hoc fecisse, præter eorum conscientiam qui civitates ipsas et villas detinent, et ipse deponatur, et qui ab illo sunt ordinati.

κθ'. (29.)

Εἴ τις χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος μὴ καταδέχοιτο τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ, τοῦτον ἀφωρισμένον τυγχάνειν, ἕως ἂν καταδέξηται· ὡσαύτως καὶ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ διάκονος· εἰ δὲ ἀπελθὼν, μὴ δεχθείη, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ

De ordinatis Episcopis, nec receptis.

XXXVII. Si quis Episcopus non susceperit officium, et curam populi sibi commissam, hic communione privetur, quoadusque consentiat, obedientiam commodans. Similiter autem et Presbyter, et Diaconus. Si vero perrexerit, nec receptus fuerit, non pro sua sententia,

λαοῦ μοχθηρίαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔστω ἐπίσκοπος· ὁ δὲ κλῆρος τῆς πόλεως ἀφοριζέσθω, ὅτι τοιούτου λαοῦ ἀνυποτάκτου παιδευταὶ οὐκ ἐγένοντο.

sed pro malitia populi: ipse quidem maneat Episcopus; Clerici vero civitatis communione priventur, eo quod eruditores inobedientis populi non fuerunt.

λ'. (30.)

Δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν· ἅπαξ μὲν, τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· δεύτερον δὲ, Ὑπερβερεταίου δωδεκάτῃ.

Ut bis in anno Concilia celebrentur.

XXXVIII. Bis in anno Episcoporum Concilia celebrentur; ut inter se invicem dogmata pietatis explorent, et emergentes Ecclesiasticas contentiones amoveant; semel quidem quarta septimana Pentecostes, secundo vero duodecima die mensis Hyperberetæi, id est juxta Romanos quarto Idus Octobris.

λα'. (31.)

Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ διοικείτω αὐτὰ ὡς Θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ, σφετερίζεσθαί τι ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἢ συγγένεσιν ἰδίοις τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ πένητες ὦσιν, ὡς πένησιν ἐπιχορηγείτω· ἀλλὰ μὴ προφάσει τούτου, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεμπολίτω.

Ut tantum curam rerum Ecclesiasticarum Episcopus habeat.

XXXIX. Omnium negotiorum Ecclesiasticorum curam Episcopus habeat, et ea velut Deo contemplante dispenset; nec ei liceat ex his aliquid omnino contingere, aut parentibus propriis quæ Dei sunt condonare. Quod si pauperes sunt, tamquam pauperibus subministret, nec eorum occasione Ecclesiæ negotia deprædetur.

λϵ'. (32.)

Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος.

λγ'. (33.)

Ἔστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα, εἴγε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει, καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κυριακά· ἵν' ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἰδίων τελευτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς βούληται καὶ οἷς βούλεται καταλείψαι, καὶ μὴ προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων διαπίπτειν τὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔσθ' ὅτε γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας κεκτημένου, ἢ συγγενεῖς, ἢ οἰκέτας. δίκαιον γὰρ τοῦτο παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, τὸ μή τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζημίαν τινὰ ὑπομένειν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πραγμάτων. [μή τε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον] ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῦ συγγενεῖς προφάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας δημεύεσθαι· ἢ καὶ εἰς πράγματα ἐμπίπτειν τοὺς αὐτῷ διαφέροντας· καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον δυσφημίᾳ περιβάλλεσθαι.

De dignitate Pontificis, et quod rerum suarum habeat potestatem.

XL. Presbyteri et Diaconi, præter Episcopum, nihil agere pertentent: nam Domini populus ipsi commissus est, et pro animabus eorum hic redditurus est rationem. Sint autem manifestæ res propriæ (si tamen habet proprias) et manifestæ Dominicæ, ut potestatem habeat de propriis moriens Episcopus, sicut voluerit et quibus voluerit derelinquere, nec sub occasione Ecclesiasticarum rerum, quæ Episcopi esse probantur intercidant, fortassis enim aut uxorem habet, aut filios, aut propinquos, aut servos. Et justum est hoc apud Deum et homines, ut nec Ecclesia detrimentum patiatur ignoratione rerum pontificis, nec Episcopus vel ejus propinqui sub obtentu Ecclesiæ proscribantur, et in caussas incidant qui ad eum pertinent, morsque ejus injuriis malæ famæ subjaceat.

λδ'. (34.)

Προστάσσομεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων· εἰ γὰρ τὰς τιμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς αὐτῷ πιστευτέον, πολλῷ ἂν δέοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐντέλλεσθαι, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν πάντα διοικεῖσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, καὶ ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι μετὰ φοβοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας· μεταλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν δεόντων (εἴγε δέοιτο) εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτοῦ χρείας καὶ τῶν ἐπιξενουμένων ἀδελφῶν, ὡς κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον αὐτοὺς ὑστερεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ Θεοῦ διετάξατο, τοὺς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παραμένοντας, ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τρέφεσθαι· ἐπείπερ οὐδὲ στρατιώτης ποτὲ ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις ὅπλα κατὰ πολεμίων ἐπιφέρεται.

Quod Episcopus, Ecclesiasticarum rerum pro dispensatione pauperum, habeat potestatem.

XLI. Præcipimus, ut in potestate sua Episcopus Ecclesiæ res habeat. Si enim animæ hominum pretiosæ illi sunt creditæ, multo magis oportet eum curam pecuniarum gerere, ita ut potestate ejus indigentibus omnia dispensentur per Presbyteros et Diaconos, et cum timore omnique sollicitudine ministrentur: ex his autem quæ indiget (si tamen indiget) ad suas necessitates et ad peregrinorum fratrum usus et ipse percipiat, ut nihil eis possit omnino deesse. Lex enim Dei præcipi ut qui altari deserviunt, de altari pascantur: quia nec miles stipendiis propriis contra hostes arma sustulit.

λε'. (35.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος κύβοις σχολάζων καὶ μέθαις· ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ καθαι-

Quod Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aleator et ebriosus esse non debeat.

XLII. Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aleæ atque ebrietati deser-

ρείσθω· ὑποδιάκονος, ἢ ἀναγνώστης, ἢ ψάλτης, ὅμοια ποιῶν, ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ ἀφοριζέσθω. ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.

viens, aut desinat aut certe damnetur.

(Dist. 35. c.1.)

Similiter Clerici et Laici, si permanserint in alea, communione priventur.

XLIII. Subdiaconus, aut Lector, aut Cantor, similia faciens, aut desinat aut communione privetur. Similiter etiam Laicus.

(Dist. 35. c. 1.)

λς'. (36.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τόκους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς δανειζομένους, ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ καθαιρείσθω.

Quod Episcopus aut Presbyter aut Diaconus non debeat usuras accipere.

XLIV. Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, usuras a debitoribus exigens, aut desinat aut certe damnetur.

(Dist. 47. c. 1.)

λζ'. (37.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος αἱρετικοῖς συνευξάμενος μόνον, ἀφοριζέσθω· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κληρικοῖς ἐνεργῆσαί τι, καθαιρείσθω.

Quod non debeat Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, cum Hæreticis orare.

XLV. Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, qui cum Hæreticis oraverit tantummodo, communione privetur: si vero tamquam Clericos hortatus eos fuerit agere vel orare, damnetur.

λη'. (38.)

Ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον αἱρετικῶν δεξαμένους βάπτισμα ἢ θυσίαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν. τίς γὰρ συμφώνησις Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίαρ; ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου;

Quod non debeant Hæreticorum Baptismata comprobari.

XLVI. Episcopum aut Presbyterum Hæreticorum suscipientem Baptisma damnari præcipimus. *Quæ enim conventio Christi ad Belial? aut quæ pars fideli cum infideli?*

λθ'. (39.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, ἢ τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς γελῶν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον, καὶ μὴ διακρίνων ἱερέας ψευδιερέων.

Quod Ecclesiæ Baptismate baptizatus, denuo baptizari non debeat; et non ita baptizatus, debeat baptizari.

XLVII. Episcopus aut Presbyter, si eum qui secundum veritatem habuerit Baptisma denuo baptizaverit, aut si pollutum ab impiis non baptizaverit, deponatur, tamquam deridens crucem et mortem Domini, nec sacerdotes a falsis sacerdotibus jure discernens.

(Dist. 32. in c. 6.)

μ'. (40.)

Εἴ τις λαϊκὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβαλὼν, ἑτέραν λάβοι, ἢ παρὰ ἄλλου ἀπολελυμένην, ἀφοριζέσθω.

Laicum pellentem suam conjugem communione privandum.

XLVIII. Si quis Laicus, uxorem propriam pellens, alteram vel ab alio dimissam duxerit, communione privetur.

μα'. (41.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ εἰς τρεῖς ἀνάρχους, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς υἱοὺς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς παρακλήτους, καθαιρείσθω.

Quod in nomine Trinitatis debeat baptizari.

XLIX. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, juxta præceptum Domini non baptizaverit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, sed in tribus sine initio Principiis, aut in tribus Filiis, aut in tribus Paracletis, abjiciatur.

με'. (42.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυησέως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἓν βάπτισμα τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, εἰς τὸν θάνατόν μου βαπτίσατε· ἀλλὰ, πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι, εἰς ἕνα πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τρίτον βαπτίσατε, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου γνώμην, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν πνεύματι διάταξιν.

Quod non debeat una mersio in Baptismate, quæ in morte Domini, provenire.

L. Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, non trinam mersionem unius mysterii celebret, sed semel mergat in Baptismate, quod dari videtur in Domini morte, deponatur. Non enim dixit nobis Dominus: In morte mea baptizate; sed: Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

(De Consecrat. Dist. 4. c. 79.)

μγ'. (43.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ γαμοῦ καὶ κρεῶν καὶ οἴνου, οὐ δι' ἄσκησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βδελυρίαν ἀπέχεται, ἐπιλανθανόμενος ὅτι πάντα καλὰ λίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν διαβάλλει τὴν δημιουργίαν, ἢ διορθούσθω, ἢ καθαιρείσθω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβαλλέσθω. ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.

Aliis LI.

Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut omnino ex numero Clericorum, a nuptiis, et carne, et vino, non propter exercitationem, verum propter detestationem abstinuerit, oblitus quod omnia sunt valde bona, et quod masculum et feminam Deus fecit hominem, sed blasphemans accusaverit creationem, vel corrigat se, vel deponatur, atque ex Ecclesia ejiciatur. Itidem et Laicus.

μδ'. (44.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας οὐ προσδέχεται, ἀλλ' ἀποβάλλεται, καθαιρείσθω· ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸν Χριστὸν, εἰπόντα· χάρα γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.

LII.

Si quis Episcopus aut Presbyter eum qui se convertit a peccato non receperit, sed ejecerit, deponatur, quia contristat Christum, dicentem: Gaudium oritur in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente.

με'. (45.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἑορτῶν οὐ μεταλαμβάνει κρεῶν ἢ οἴνου, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς κεκαυστηριασμένος τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, καὶ αἴτιος σκανδάλου πολλοῖς γινόμενος.

LIII.

Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, in diebus festis non sumit carnem aut vinum, [abominans, et non propter exercitationem,] deponatur, ut qui cauteriatam habeat suam conscientiam, multisque sit caussa scandali.

μς'. (46.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐν καπηλείῳ φωραθῇ ἐσθίων, ἀφοριζέσθω· παρὲξ

LIV.

Si quis Clericus in caupona comedens deprehensus fuerit,

τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ δι' ἀνάγκην καταλύειν.

segregetur; præterquam cum ex necessitate de via divertat ad hospitium.

μξ'. (47.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίσει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀδίκως, καθαιρείσθω. ἄρχοντα γὰρ, φησὶ, τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

LV.

Si quis Clericus Episcopum contumelia affecerit injuste, deponatur. Ait enim Scriptura: *Principi populi tui non maledices.*

μη'. (48.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίσει πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LVI.

Si quis Clericus contumelia affecerit Presbyterum vel Diaconum, segregetur.

μθ'. (49.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς χωλὸν, ἢ κωφὸν ἢ τυφλὸν, ἢ τὸν τὰς βάσεις πεπληγμένον, χλευάσῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω. ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.

LVII.

Si quis Clericus mutilum aut surdum seu mutum, aut cœcum, aut debilitatum pedibus, irriserit, segregetur. Item et Laicus.

ν'. (50.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἀμελῶν τοῦ κλήρου, ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ, καθαιρείσθω.

LVIII.

Episcopus aut Presbyter Clerum vel populum negligens, et non docens eos pietatem, segregetur, si autem in socordia perseverit, deponatur.

να'. (51.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, τινὸς τῶν κληρικῶν ἐνδεοῦς ὄντος, μὴ ἐπιχορηγῇ τὰ δέοντα, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς φονεύσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

LIX.

Si quis Episcopus aut Presbyter, cum aliquis Clericorum inopia laborat, ei non suppeditet necessaria, segregetur, quod si perseverit, deponatur, ut qui occiderit fratrem suum.

νβ'. (52.)

Εἴ τις τὰ ψευδεπίγραφα τῶν ἀσεβῶν βιβλία, ὡς ἁγία, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκ-

LX.

Si quis falso inscriptos impiorum libros, tamquam san-

κλησίας δημοσιεύει, ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, καθαιρείσθω.

ctos, in Ecclesia publicaverit, ad perniciem populi et Cleri, deponatur.

μγ'. (53.)

Εἴ τις κατηγορία γένηται κατὰ πιστοῦ, πορνείας ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀπηγορουμένης πράξεως, καὶ ἐλεγχθῇ, εἰς κλῆρον μὴ προαγέσθω.

LXI.

Si contra fidelem aliqua fiat accusatio, fornicationis vel adulterii, vel alterius cujuspiam vetitæ actionis, et convictus fuerit, non provehatur ad Clerum.

νδ'. (54.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς διὰ φόβον ἀνθρώπινον, Ἰουδαίου, ἢ Ἕλληνος, ἢ αἱρετικοῦ ἀρνήσηται, εἰ μὲν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀφοριζέσθω, εἰ δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κληρικοῦ, καθαιρείσθω· μετανοήσας δὲ, ὡς λαϊκὸς δεχθήτω.

LXII.

Si quis Clericus propter metum humanum Judæi, vel Gentilis, vel Hæretici, negaverit, si quidem nomen Christi, segregetur, si vero nomen Clerici, deponatur; si autem pœnitentiam egerit, ut Laicus recipiatur.

νε'. (55.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, φάγῃ κρέας ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἢ θηριάλωτον ἢ θνησιμαῖον, καθαιρείσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν. ἐὰν δὲ λαικὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXIII.

Si quis Episcopus aut Presbyter aut Diaconus, aut omnino ex catalogo Clericorum, manducaverit carnem in sanguine animæ ejus; vel captum a bestia, vel morticinum, deponatur; id enim Lex quoque interdixit. Quod si Laicus sit, segregetur.

μς'. (56.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς εὑρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου, νηστεύων, καθαιρείσθω· ἐὰν δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXIV. vel LXVI.

Si quis Clericus inventus fuerit, die Dominica jejunans, vel Sabbato, præter unum solum, deponatur; si vero Laicus sit, segregetur.

νξ'. (57.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς, ἢ λαϊκὸς, εἰσέλθοι εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων ἢ αἱρετικῶν προσεύξασθαι, καθαιρείσθω καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXV. vel LXIV.

Si quis Clericus aut Laicus ingressus fuerit in Synagogam Judæorum vel Hæreticorum, ad orandum, deponatur et segregetur.

νη'. (58.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐν μάχῃ τινὰ κρούσας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς κρούσματος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαιρείσθω, διὰ τὴν προπέταιαν αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXVI. vel LXV.

Si quis Clericus aliquem in altercatione pulsaverit, et vel uno ictu occiderit, deponatur propter suam præcipitationem. Si vero Laicus fuerit, segregetur.

νθ'. (59.)

Εἴ τις παρθένον ἀμνήστευτον βιασάμενος σχῇ, ἀφοριζέσθω· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ ἑτέραν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην κατέχειν, ἣν καὶ ᾑρετίσατο, κἂν πενιχρὰ τυγχάνῃ.

LXVII.

Si quis virginem non desponsatam vi illata habeat, segregetur; non liceat autem ei aliam accipere, sed illam retineat, quam et elegit, quamvis sit paupercula.

ξ'. (60.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος δευτέραν χειροτονίαν δέξηται παρά τινος, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας· εἰ μὴ δείξοι παρὰ αἱρετικῶν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὴν χειροτονίαν· τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων βαπτισθέντας, ἢ χειροτονηθέντας, οὔτε πιστοὺς, οὔτε κληρικοὺς εἶναι.

LXVIII.

Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, secundam ordinationem acciperit ab aliquo, deponatur et ipse, et qui ordinavit; nisi ostendat se ordinationem habere ab Hæreticis: qui enim a talibus baptizati, vel ordinati fuerunt, neque fideles neque Clerici esse possunt.

ξα'. (61.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ἀναγνώστης ἢ ψάλτης τὴν ἁγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν οὐ νηστεύει, ἢ τετρά˙α ἢ παρασκευὴν,

LXIX.

Si quis Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut Lector aut Cantor, sanctam Quadragesimam non jejunat, vel

καθαιρείσθω· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν σωματικὴν ἐμποδίζοιτο· ἐὰν δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

feriam quartam, vel Parasceven, deponatur, præterquam si per imbecillatem corporalem impediatur: sin vero Laicus sit, segregetur.

ξϐ. (62.)

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ἄλλος κληρικὸς νηστεύει μετὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἢ ἑορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν, ἢ δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ξένια, οἷον ἄζυμα ἤ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ᾖ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXX.

Si quis Episcopus aut Clericus jejunat cum Judæis, vel cum eis festos dies agit, vel accipit eorum festi xenia, exempli gratia Azyma vel quid hujusmodi, deponatur: quod si Laicus sit, segregetur.

ξγ'. (63.)

Εἴ τις Χριστιανὸς ἔλαιον ἀπενέγκοι εἰς ἱερὸν ἐθνῶν, ἢ εἰς συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αὐτῶν λύχνους ἅψῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

LXXI.

Si quis Christianus oleum detulerit ad templum Gentilium, vel ad synagogam Judæorum, aut in festis eorum lucernas accenderit, segregetur.

ξδ'. (64.)

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἀφέληται κηρὰν ἢ ἔλαιον, ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ τὸ ἐπίπεμπτον προστιθέτω μεθ' οὗ ἔλαϐεν.

LXXII.

Si quis Clericus aut Laicus abstulerit ex sancta Ecclesia ceram aut oleum, segregetur, et quintam partem addat una cum eo quod accepit.

ξε'. (65.)

Σκεῦος ἀργυροῦ ἢ χρυσοῦ ἢ ὀθόνης ἁγιασθὲν μηδεὶς ἔτι εἰς οἰκείαν χρῆσιν σφετεριζέσθω· παράνομον γάρ· εἰ δέ τις φωραθείη, ἐπιτιμάσθω ἀφορισμῷ.

LXXIII.

Vas ac instrumentum ex auro vel argento vel linteo, Deo consecratum, nemo amplius in usum suum convertat; iniquum enim est. Si quis autem deprehensus fuerit, segregatione multetur.

ξς'. (66.)

Ἐπίσκοπον κατηγορηθέντα ἐπί τινι ὑπὸ ἀξιοπίστων καὶ πιστῶν

LXXIV.

Episcopum de aliquo ab hominibus fide dignis ac fidelibus

προσώπων, καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κἂν μὲν ἀπαντήσοι καὶ ἀπολογήσοιτο ἐλεγχθέντος αὐτοῦ, ὁριζέσθω τὸ ἐπιτίμιον· ἐὰν δὲ καλούμενος μὴ ὑπακούσοι, καλείσθω καὶ δεύτερον, δύο ἐπισκόπων ἀποσταλέντων πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ οὕτω μὴ ὑπακούσοι, καλείσθω καὶ τρίτον, δύο πάλιν ἐπισκόπων ἀποσταλέντων πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ οὕτω καταφρονήσας μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ, ἡ σύνοδος ἀποφαινέσθω κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα, ὅπως μὴ δόξῃ κερδαίνειν φυγοδικῶν.

accusatum, oportet vocari ab Episcopis. Et si quidem occurrerit ac responderit, cum fuerit convictus, pœna definiatur: sin vero vocatus non paruerit, vocetur iterum, missis ad eum duobus Episcopis; si autem vel sic non paruerit, vocetur etiam tertio, duobus rursum Episcopis ad eum missis, quod si etiam sic aspernatus non advenerit, Synodus adversus eum pronunciet quæ videbuntur, ne judicium detrectans videatur lucrum facere.

ξζ'. (67.)

Εἰς μαρτυρίαν τὴν κατὰ ἐπισκόπου αἱρετικὸν μὴ προσδέχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστὸν ἕνα μόνον· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.

LXXV.

Ad testimonium dicendum adversus Episcopum ne recipiatis Hæreticum, sed nec fidelem unum solum: ait enim Lex: *In ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.*

ξη'. (68.)

Ὅτι μὴ χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ τῷ υἱῷ ἢ ἑτέρῳ συγγενεῖ χαριζόμενον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χειροτονεῖν οὓς αὐτὸς βούλεται, κληρονόμους γὰρ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαριζόμενον πάθει ἀνθρωπίνῳ· οὐ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ κληρονομίαν ὀφείλει τιθέναι· εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο ποιήσαι, ἄκυρος μὲν ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιτιμάσθω ἀφορισμῷ.

LXXV.

Non oportet Episcopum, fratri vel filio vel alteri propinquo dignitatem Episcopatus largiendo, ordinare quos ipse vult: non enim æquum est, ut Episcopatus sui hæredes faciat, humano affectu largiens quæ Dei sunt, nam Christi Ecclesiam non debet hæreditati subjicere. Si quis autem hoc fecerit, irrita quidem sit ejus ordinatio, ipse vero puniatur segregatione.

ξθ'. (69.)

Ἐάν τις ἀνάπηρος ᾖ τὸν ὀφθαλ-

LXXVI.

Si quis fuerit oculo læsus

μὸν, ἢ τὸ σκέλος πεπληγμένος, ἄξιος δέ ἐστιν ἐπισκοπῆς, γενέσθω· οὐ γὰρ λώβη σώματος αὐτὸν μιαίνει, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς μολυσμός· κωφὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ τυφλὸς, μὴ γινέσθω ἐπίσκοπος· οὐχ ὡς μεμιασμένος, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ παρεμποδίζηται.

vel crure debilitatus, est autem dignus Episcopatu, Episcopus fiat: non enim vitium corporis eum polluit, sed animæ inquinatio. Qui vero surdus est, mutus, aut cæcus, ne fiat Episcopus: non quasi pollutus, sed ne impediantur Ecclesiastica.

ο'. (70.)

Ἐάν τις δαίμονα ἔχῃ, κληρικὸς μὴ γινέσθω, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς πιστοῖς συνευχέσθω· καθαρισθεὶς δὲ, προσδεχέσθω, καὶ ἐὰν ᾖ ἄξιος, γινέσθω.

LXXIX.

Si quis Dæmonem habeat, ne fiat Clericus, sed nec una cum fidelibus oret; cum autem purgatus fuerit, recipiatur; et si dignus extiterit, Clericus fiat.

οα'. (71.)

Τὸν ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσελθόντα, καὶ βαπτισθέντα, ἢ ἐκ φαύλης διαγωγῆς, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι παραυτὰ προχειρίζεσθαι εἰς ἐπισκοπήν· ἄδικον γὰρ τὸν μηδέπω πεῖραν ἐπιδειξάμενον, ἑτέρων εἶναι διδάσκαλον· εἰ μή που κατὰ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γένοιτο.

LXXX.

Eum qui ex Gentibus accessit et baptizatus fuit, aut ex prava vivendi ratione, non est æquum statim ad Episcopatum promovere; iniquum enim est, eum qui nondum specimen exhibuerit, aliorum esse doctorem, nisi forte divina gratia hoc fiat.

οβ'. (72.)

Εἴπομεν ὅτι μὴ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον καθεῖναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσευκαιρεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις. ἢ πειθέσθω οὖν τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν, ἢ καθαιρείσθω. οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν παρακέλευσιν.

LXXXI.

Diximus, quod non oportet ut Episcopus se in publicas administrationes demittat, sed Ecclesiasticis usibus vacet. Aut igitur persuadeatur hoc non facere, aut deponatur. Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire, juxta Dominicam admonitionem.

ογ'. (73.)

Οἰκέτας εἰς κλῆρον προχειρίζε-

LXXXII.

Servos ad Clerum promoveri

σθαι ἄνευ τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν γνώμης, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν ἐπὶ λύπῃ τῶν κεκτημένων· οἰκων γὰρ ἀνατροπὴν τὸ τοιοῦτον κατεργάζεται. εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ ἄξιος φανείη οἰκέτης πρὸς χειροτονίαν βαθμοῦ, οἷος Ὀνήσιμος ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀνεφάνη, καὶ συγχωροῦσιν οἱ δεσπόται, καὶ ἐλευθεροῦσι, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἑαυτῶν ἐξαποστέλλουσι, γινέσθω.

sine dominorum voluntate non permittimus, cum molestia eorum qui possident: hoc namque domorum eversionem efficit. Si quando autem Servus visus fuerit dignus, qui in gradu Ecclesiastico constituatur, qualis Onesimus noster apparuit, et permittunt domini ac libertate donant, eque domo sua emittunt, fiat.

οδ'. (74.)

Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος στρατείᾳ σχολάζων καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω· τὰ γὰρ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

LXXXIII.

Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, militiæ vacans, et utrumque retinere volens, Romanum magistratum et sacram administrationem, deponatur. *Quæ enim sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.*

οε'. (75.)

Ὅς τις ὑβρίσει βασιλέα ἢ ἄρχοντα, παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, τιμωρίαν τινυέτω· καὶ εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφορίζέσθω.

LXXXIV.

Quicunque contumelia affecerit Regem vel Magistratum, præter jus, pœnas luat, et si quidem Clericus est, deponatur; si vero Laicus, segregetur.

ος'. (76.)

Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια· τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, Μωϋσέως πέντε, γένεσις, ἔξοδος, λευϊτικὸν, ἀριθμοὶ, καὶ δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυὴ, ἕν· τῶν κριτῶν, ἕν· τῆς Ῥοὺθ, ἕν· βασιλειῶν, τέσσαρα· παραλειπομένων τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, δύο· Ἔσδρα, δύο· Ἐσθὴρ, ἕν· Ἰουδελθ, ἕν· Μακκαβαίων, τρία· Ἰὼβ, ἕν· ψαλμοὶ, ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα·

LXXXV.

*Sint autem vobis omnibus Clericis et Laicis libri venerabiles et sancti: Veteris quidem Testamenti: Moysis quinque, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, et Deuteronomium; Jesu filii Navæ unus, Judicum unus, Ruthæ unus, Regnorum quatuor, Paralipomenon libri dierum duo; Esdræ duo, Estheræ unus, Judithæ unus,

Σολομῶνος βιβλία τρία, παροιμίαι, ἐκκλησιαστὴς, ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων· προφῆται δεκαέξ· ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορείσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ· ἡμέτερα δὲ, τουτέστι τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου· Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· Ἰωάννου τρεῖς· Ἰακώβου μία· Ἰούδα μία· Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημέναι, ἃς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά· καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Maccabæorum tres, Jobi unus, Psalmi centum quinquaginta, Salomonis libri tres, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Prophetæ sexdecim: (extra hos vobis insuper commemoratum sit, ut juvenes vestri discant sapientiam admodum eruditi Sirachi:) libri vero nostri, hoc est novi Testamenti: Evangelia quatuor, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Johannis, Pauli Epistolæ quatuordecim, Petri Epistolæ duæ, Johannis tres, Jacobi una, Judæ una, Clementis Epistolæ duo: et Constitutiones, vobis Episcopis per me Clementem in octo libris nuncupatæ, quas non oportet coram omnibus divulgare, ob mystica quæ in eis sunt, et Acta nostra Apostolorum.

Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ κανόνων διατετάχθω ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμμένοντες αὐτοῖς, σωθήσεσθε, καὶ εἰρήνην ἕξετε· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ, κολασθήσεσθε, καὶ πόλεμον μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀΐδιον ἕξετε, δίκην τῆς ἀνηκοΐας τὴν προσήκουσαν τινυῦντες. ὁ Θεὸς δὲ, ὁ μόνος, ἀγέννητος, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἑνώσει· καταρτίσει εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἀτρέπτους, ἀμέμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους· καταξιώσει τε τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, σὺν ἡμῖν, διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ ἠγαπημένου

Hæc vero de Canonibus vobis constituta sint a nobis, o Episcopi. Vos autem, si in eis permanetis, salvi eritis, et habebitis pacem: at si non obtemperatis, puniemini et inter vos habebitis bellum perpetuum, pœnam contumaciæ debitam pendentes. Deus autem, solus ingenitus, ac universorum creator, vos omnes per pacem in Spiritu Sancto adunabit, consummabit in omne opus bonum, immutabiles, inculpatos, irreprehensos; atque nobiscum

παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ ἡ δόξα αὐτῷ, τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ παρακλήτῳ νῦν τε καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.	dignabitur vita æterna, per intercessionem dilecti Filii sui Jesu Christi, Dei et Salvatoris nostri; cum quo gloria ipsi super omnia Deo, ac Patri, in sancto Spiritu, Paracleto; nunc et semper et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.
Τέλος διαταγῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος, ἢ καθολικῆς διδασκαλίας.	Finis Constitutionum sanctorum Apostolorum per Clementem, seu Catholicæ Doctrinæ.

APPENDIX.

ON THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS IN THE CODEX BARBERINUS AND THE PETERSBURG MS., AND ON THE DISCOVERIES AND RESEARCHES OF BICKELL AND ZENKER.

THE celebrated MS. of the Barberini Library at Rome (N. 17.) of the ninth century, written in uncial letters, to which allusion has been often made in this Part, and in the Second Volume, as exhibiting the most authentic text of the Greek Liturgies, contains also a fragment of the Apostolical Canons. It begins with canon 57. of the text of Cotelerius (εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκός), fol. 536., with which a new quaternio opens. That canon is, in the MS., the 62nd; the number is now covered by a piece of parchment; but canon 59. of Cotelerius is numbered 64., and so on to canon 75. (fol. 541.), which answers

here to canon 80. The 76th canon of Cotelerius (the absurd Catalogue of the Canonical Books) is unknown to that MS., in which the 75th canon is followed by the epilogue: ταῦτα καὶ (instead of δὲ) περὶ κανόνων, &c. The various readings of the preserved text are insignificant. The difference in the numbering also is not important. The Arabic and Ethiopic collections number 81.

Fol. 548—550. give chapter 15. of the vulgar text of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, under the title, Διατάξεις ἁγίων ἀποστόλων μυστικῆς λατρείας. Then follow ch. 16—26. (fol. 550—561.) and the title of ch. 27.: Σίμωνος τοῦ Καναναίου διάταξις ὑπὸ πόσων ὀφείλει χειροτονεῖσθαι ἐπίσκοπος (see Vol. II. pp. 296, 297.) As ch. 15. is the end of the Liturgy, it is clear that the MS. had this whole interpolated piece.

I owe this information to my learned friend, Professor Roestell of Marburg, who in the same letter (1st March, 1852) has called my attention to *Bickell's* Geschichte des Kirchenrechts (I. 1843). Having procured this highly interesting book from Germany, I find (March 19.) that Bickell (pp. 107—132.) has published, from a Vienna MS., the Greek text of the first book of our Coptic Collection, beginning with the Introduction, the moral precepts of which we have given as the third chapter of the Book of the Catechumens (pp. 9—14.). We find here (p. 10. § 2.) that the concluding words, which I have given with Tattam from the Coptic thus, "for *envy* proceeds from these," ought to read, "for *murder* proceeds from these." (φόνος instead of φθόνος.) On the whole, the two texts are not at all literally identical, but sometimes the one is more explicit, sometimes the other. The Introduction is followed, as in the Coptic text, by the remarkable chapter on the Ecclesiastical Offices, which constitute in the Text-Book (pp. 35—41.) the first Alexandrian set. We are enabled by the Greek text to render intelligible the

conclusion of the remarkable canon respecting the two classes of Elders, which is so obscure in the Coptic. "But if one who has been admonished answers contumeliously, the elders of the altar shall make common cause (with those of the left), and in common council judge him as he deserveth, in order that the rest may fear; let them judge without respect of persons, that the evil may not spread like gangrene, and all the people be carried away."

Likewise the conclusion of the next canon (III. p. 38.) becomes clearer by the Greek text, which, after the precept that the Reader be the first in the Sunday meetings, runs thus: "Having a good ear and a good delivery, knowing that he takes the place of an evangelist; for he who filleth the ears of the unlearned shall be considered as acceptable before God." Finally, the interpretation which I have given of that most obscure passage respecting Martha and Mary seems on the whole to be confirmed by the Greek text, which is the following: Μάρθα εἶπεν· Διὰ Μαριὰμ, ὅτι εἶδεν αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν. Μαρία εἶπεν· Οὐκέτι ἐγέλασα· προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται. I take these to be the words of those two holy women being present at the meeting of the Apostles, as they are regularly supposed to be in the Pistis Sophia. Martha says: "Jesus did not allow us to stand by your side at the Last Supper, because he saw that Mary smiled." "No," said Mary, "I did not laugh (when the Lord spoke to me, St. Luke, x. 42.; or when I waited at dinner, St. John, xii.), but what I recollect the Lord to have said is this: 'What is weak will be saved by what is strong.'" (The weakness of woman will be saved by the strength of the man, who teaches her.) I believe this tradition is meant to answer the question: Why are the women excluded from the διακονία at the communion-table, Martha having waited (διηκόνει) at that dinner?

Bickell gives also (pp. 133—137.) a short penitential Order, attributed to the Apostles. It is unnecessary to add, that such penitential Ordinances are posterior to our age. The curious reader will find the result of the most recent German criticism on this subject of the Penitential Books in the erudite and critical work of *Dr. Wasserschleben*, Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche, only just published. But the greatest treaure is (pp. 148—159.) the account of the Syrian MS. in the National Library at Paris (Cod. Or. St. Germ. No. 38.). This collection, examined by Dr. Zenker, bears the title Διδασκαλία τῶν ἀποστόλων, and exhibits, in 26 chapters, the original text of those first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions. Bickell considers them as extracts; but how then can one explain that on the whole they leave out exactly what I have in the Second Volume (printed last year) shown to be interpolations?

Professor Roestell having also mentioned *Muralt's* Catalogus Codicum Bibliothecæ imperialis publicæ Græcorum et Latinorum (Petropoli, 1840; fasc. I.), I have found that MS. xv. (codex membranaceus) contains, first, the books of the Greek Apostolical Constitutions; then the ordinary collection of Apostolical Canons, under the correct title:

Ὅροι κανονικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων;

and, in the third place, a mutilated collection of the same:

Ἕτεροι κανόνες μς' (fol. 139b.).

This collection represents, according to Muralt, the same text of the 85 canons, but leaves out 39 of them; of which omission no explanation can be given.

Of the primitive collection there are wanting:

Can. 7—11. 13, 14. 18—20. 26, 27. 30, 31. 33, 34. 36—43.

Of the additional collection:

Can. 58—60. 64. 70, 71. 74, 75. 81—83. 85.

PART II.

THE

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION.

THE

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION.

BOOK I.

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOL AND BAPTISMAL VOW.

I.

THE PICTURE.

THE Apostolical Church made the School the connecting link between herself and the world. The object of this education was admission into the free society and brotherhood of the Christian community. The Church adhered rigidly to the principle, as constituting the true purport of the baptism ordained by Christ, that no one can be a member of the communion of Saints, but by his own free act and deed, his own solemn vow made in presence of the Church. It was with this understanding that the candidate for baptism was immersed in water, and admitted as a brother, upon his confession of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It understood baptism, therefore, in the exact sense of the

First Epistle of St. Peter (iii. 21.), not as being a mere bodily purification, but as a vow made to God with a good conscience, through faith in Jesus Christ. This vow was preceded by a confession of Christian faith, made in the face of the Church, in which the Catechumen expressed that faith in Christ and in the sufficiency of the salvation offered by Him. It was a vow to live for the time to come to God and for his neighbour, not to the world and for Self; a vow of faith in his becoming a child of God through the communion with his only begotten Son in the Holy Ghost; a vow of the most solemn kind, for life and for death. The keeping of this pledge was the condition of continuance in the Church: its infringement entailed repentance or excommunication. All Church discipline was based upon this voluntary pledge, and the responsibility thereby self-imposed. But how could such a vow be received without examination? How could such examination be passed without instruction and observation?

As a general rule, the ancient Church fixed three years for this preparation, supposing the candidate, whether heathen or Jew, to be competent to receive it. With Christian children the condition was the same, except that the term of probation was curtailed according to circumstances. Pedobaptism, in the more modern sense, meaning thereby baptism of new-born infants, with the vicarious promises of parents or other sponsors, was utterly unknown to the early

Church; not only down to the end of the second, but indeed to the middle of the third century. We shall show, in a subsequent page, how, towards the close of the second century, this practice originated in the baptism of children of a more advanced age.

Hence we find, in the Christian school of that period, four great acts, three of which were common both to the new converts and to Christian children: previous examination of the Jewish or heathen candidates who presented themselves; instruction and examination immediately before immersion and the taking of the vow; and lastly, that ceremony itself.

I. *Previous Examination.*

Upon this point we possess an entire document in its original shape, which we find again, in a precisely similar form, in the Churches of Alexandria and of Antioch, as the expression of a primitive and universal ecclesiastical custom. Every member of the community might present to the Bishop or Presbyters those who offered themselves for instruction in Christianity, and might give such testimony or guarantee as was required before the examination took place. Almost all the social questions of the day came under discussion during these examina-

tions, and eminently among them the important one of slavery. The resolution at which the Church arrived on this point bears the impress of high moral faith and courage, as well as of Christian wisdom. The slave, even of a heathen, was not admitted unless he promised to deserve his master's good-will by honest behaviour, and to abandon every practice which was incompatible with his Christian vow and confession of faith in the proffered salvation. He was to be taught that it became a Christian to fulfil all righteousness. Moreover, he was to abstain from all sacrificial meat, and not to give himself up to any form of that immorality to which slavery offered a temptation, and which heathenism had almost sanctioned. But even the master of a slave was inadmissible into, or incapable of remaining in, the Communion, unless he gave his slaves, of both sexes, an opportunity of abandoning personal impurity, and of entering into married life. All the moral philosophers and national economists of the day (and the Romans were in this practically and theoretically eminent) must have held this to be a most serious, if not unjustifiable, attack on the rights of property, ever the most sacred in the eyes of the Romans, the divine right of the Sovereign Man.

Idolatrous superstitions and impure trades were disqualifications, if not abandoned at once. This again was a general attack upon the deep-seated irregularities of the heathen world. It may be enough

to mention here omens and all the superstitions connected with the evil eye, and protection against charms (*gittatura, fascinus*), which are still as prevalent, in all the South of Europe, as they were during the middle ages, and which are studiously encouraged even in all the Romanic countries; in most of them, indeed, are made use of as an engine of the state police.

A person possessed, i. e. subject to paroxysms of phrensy, lunacy, or epilepsy, could only be admitted in very pressing exceptional cases. As to military men, the ancient Church was as far from rejecting them as John the Baptist was, whose words are quoted in our Text-Book. That document concludes with a beautiful addition of the compilers, as though speaking in the name of the Apostles: "But, if we have omitted anything, experience will teach you, for we all have the Spirit of God."

II. *Christian Instruction.*

Catechetical instruction, as a general rule, was limited to three years; so that the Catechumen, after having completed the first year satisfactorily, might be admitted to hear the Word of God and the sermon; at the conclusion of which, after solemn prayer and the blessing, he was dismissed before the worship of

the believers, the service of the general congregation, commenced. Nothing can be more natural; for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was the solemn act of the believers, and implied reception into the Christian community, of which it was intended to be the sacred symbol. I can no more understand, therefore, the objections raised by some Protestant scholars against this division of the service, than I can the mischievous notion, adopted by some Catholic or Catholicizing divines even at the present day, of a secret doctrine, an invention of their own, from which the Catechumens were to be excluded. The institution, on the contrary, arose out of the nature of the case, and was therefore suitable to the occasion. No one can take part in the solemn ceremony of a close society, except one who has been received into it. To have allowed it would have been a contradiction in terms.

The system of instruction was based upon the Law as much as upon Faith. It commenced with the Decalogue, as being the written moral law; but the Ten Commandments were not enjoined as an external law to be literally observed, with which the observance of the Sunday, which threw into the background that of the Sabbath, was incompatible. The obligation imposed was shown to be an internal one, in the spirit of Christ's commandments, the love of God and of our neighbour. The Sermon on the Mount furnished a deeper insight into the moral law,

and resolved all unlawfulness into offences against it, by substituting internal holiness for justification by works. Thus the believing heathen became reconciled with the Jewish system, as the Jew did with what must at first have repulsed him, as being a violation of the Law. Next came the initiation into the history of Revelation, from Adam, the father of mankind, the image of God, and Abraham, in whom all nations were blessed, down to Christ, whose life and death formed the centre of this hallowed history of the human race. The books of the Old Testament, and the canon of the New, which were gradually being closed, were placed before the Catechumen, together with useful Christian compositions. For, by degrees, a Christian literature was formed, the first specimens of which were regarded in the same light as the apocryphal books were by the later Jews. At that time, almost every inhabitant of the towns throughout the Roman empire, which were the cradles of the Christian Churches, knew how to read.

In the earliest Church, the office of teacher was open to all. Every one taught to whom the Spirit gave the vocation. By degrees the office of the Elders became an office of teachers, and that of the Deacons also. Our Text-Book presents to us already distinct ecclesiastical offices; but still, according to them, laymen who were duly qualified, might also instruct the Catechumens; for the book states that

the Scripture says, " They shall all be taught of God."

The Alexandrian text, in mentioning the Prayer for the Catechumens, and the imposition of hands which ensued, adds: " So let it be, therefore, whether he be an Ecclesiastic or Layman who offers the prayer."

III. *The Examination.*

In the third and last year of the preparation, the Catechumens were called *competentes*, or candidates, as in the second they had been called hearers. Before they were set apart from the rest, in immediate preparation for baptism, an examination was made as to their life and conduct during the period of probation, the principal stress being laid upon whether they had honoured the widows, visited the sick, and performed other works of Christian charity. Those who had first introduced them to the community, were obliged to witness to these facts in the character of sponsors. It is unnecessary to say, that this examination was a public one. The congregation was, and continued to be, the supreme judge. Those who inhabited estates or villages which formed small congregations by themselves, under a single clergyman, may have gone through the preliminary steps at their homes; but the com-

pletion must have been left to the judgment of the mother Church after a sufficient examination.

IV. *The Baptismal Vow, and the immediate Preparation for it.*

If the candidates passed this ordeal, they were first bathed, and pronounced personally clean; they fasted on the Friday, and met together solemnly on the Saturday. Thereupon they were commanded to pray. They knelt down, and received the Bishop's blessing, who exorcised every unclean spirit, bidding him go out from them, and from that time forth never again to enter into the soul, which was to be dedicated to the Lord.

After the conclusion of this solemn ceremony of exorcisement from all evil and impurity, and liberation from the ancient curse and enmity with God, the Bishop breathed upon each of them, as the Lord had done upon His disciples, and then sealed them (as the Text-Book expresses it) on the foreheads, ears, and lips, doubtless with the sign of the cross. The whole night was passed in prayer and exhortation; each neophyte being allowed only to eat of the bread which he had brought with him as the thank-offering for the following Sunday, his contribution towards the general meal. At the dawn of Sunday, the baptismal font

was filled, accompanied by a blessing, which corresponds exactly with the prayers used in consecrating the elements intended for the Lord's Supper. The Deacons assisted the men, and the Deaconesses the women, to take off all their ornaments, and put on the baptismal dress. They were then presented to one of the Presbyters, who called solemnly on each of them to renounce Satan, and all his service, and all his works. In the Church of Jerusalem, doubtless in conformity with an ancient custom, the Catechumen turned himself towards the West, as the symbol of spiritual darkness, out of which he was to be brought into eternal light.

After this solemn renunciation he was anointed by the Presbyter with the oil of exorcism, an expression of the Alexandrian Church, the meaning of which is explained by the words used by the Elder upon this occasion: "Let every evil spirit depart from thee." It is expressly stated in other ordinances that he was anointed from head to foot, a completion, as it were, of the preparatory bath by which the body was purified; and this is indisputably the original signification. The Deacon and Deaconess accompanied the neophytes into the water, and made each of them in turn repeat after them a confession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or respond to it by the words "I believe." This Creed was much more simple in the Churches of the second and third centuries, than the formula which we use under the name of the

Apostles' Creed, and evidently originated in the baptismal formula of St. Matthew's Gospel. In the Western Church the most simple Creed was that of Rome, the authentic form of which, in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, is still extant. That of Alexandria, however, kept still closer to the Gospel form. The shape in which it appears in the present text of the Coptic Church-Book bears evident marks of a post-Nicene interpolation, as well as of some equally clumsy additions made at an earlier period. By tracing these additions, we easily perceive that the only portion of the Christian Creed which can be proved to have been universally recognised as such had a strictly objective sense, and was couched in terms agreeable to the language of Scripture. Not that the other parts of it were not true also; but they were not considered binding on the consciences of the whole Christian body, and thus the unhallowed bondage of scholastic forms was avoided. The ambiguous and unscriptural expression, "Communion of Saints" (i. e. believers), for instance, is not found in any one of these confessions. This is shown more in detail in the first note to the preceding Part.

The necessity for establishing orthodox formulas as to the person of Jesus, in opposition to the false doctrines of the Gnostics and Ebionites, led in the Alexandrian ritual to a supplemental Creed, which corresponds with our present second article in the Apostles' Creed, inasmuch as they both contain a

condensed summary of the Gospel narrative, with the addition of a few words about the Holy Ghost, the groundwork of our present third article. This supplemental formula is a direct external testimony that the proper baptismal confession itself did not contain these amplifications.

That Confession was three times repeated, being uttered before each of the three immersions, and generally addressed to the neophyte in the shape of a question, to be answered in the affirmative with the words "I believe." After that followed the true baptismal unction with the precious oil, the so-called Chrisma. According to the Alexandrian Constitution, the hand with the oil was laid on the head of the baptized, and then the forehead anointed with the sign of the cross, which in the strict sense is called the Sealing. The ordinances of this Church mention the Presbyters as executing all these functions as well as the Bishop, with the exception of the blessing of the oil. The ceremony concluded with the Christian kiss.

V. *The Admission.*

After this the persons baptized were clothed in white and conducted into the church.

Unction represented, in the minds of the Church, the universal priesthood of Christians. In order to

substantiate this, the person anointed had first of all to reply to the salutation of the Bishop or Elder, "The Lord be with thee," in the words "And with thy spirit." The same ordinances enjoin that every neophyte should pray, and utter with his own lips the salutation of peace, in the precise words in which the Bishop addresses the congregation before the Lord's Supper, "Peace be with you." The Greek Constitutions express the exhibition of this universal priesthood not less significantly, by prescribing that the neophytes should turn to the East and repeat the Lord's Prayer aloud, "in the name of the whole congregation." After this they partook of the Lord's Supper, in which milk and honey were set before them, as well as the bread and wine, doubtless as symbols of their being, as it were, newly born.

Baptism is indeed called new-birth, "regeneration." But in what sense? Was it a sort of magical conversion of the curse into a blessing, effected now, in the case of the infant, by the act of sprinkling? Was it a forgiving of sins not intended to be brought back to the recollection of the parents or sponsors who were present, but to be applied to the infant itself?

The ancient Church knew no more than do the Gospels and the Apostles of such superstition, which contains less spirituality than many of the lustra-

tions of the old world, and not much more than the *taurobolia* and *criobolia*, mysteries of the last stages of heathenism, purporting to purify the neophyte by the blood of victims. On the contrary, she bears authentic testimony, in all her ordinances, against this corruption and misunderstanding. As in other cases, the origin was innocent, and I think that we are at this moment better able than either the defenders or opponents of infant baptism have hitherto been, to explain how it originated. A passage in our Alexandrian Church-Book gives the true explanation of the assertion of Origen, himself an Alexandrian, that the baptism of children was an Apostolical tradition, and it removes the origin of infant baptism from Tertullian and Hippolytus to the end of our present period, Cyprian being the first Father who, impelled by a fanatical enthusiasm, and assisted by a bad interpretation of the Old Testament, established it as a principle.

Origen, in three passages (Note A. to this Part) of which the sense is in the main the same, says that the Levitical injunction of the sacrificial purification for the first-born infant seems to him a proof that impurity and sinfulness attach to man from his birth, and that for this reason the Church, according to Apostolical tradition, performs the act of baptism even upon children. He uses the same expression for children which Jesus used when the disciples endeavoured to prevent them from being brought unto

Him: "Suffer the little children (parvuli) to come unto me;" a word which Irenæus uses in the passage quoted in our First Part (Hær. ii. 22.; see above, Vol. I. p. 256.), implying a difference between babes (infantes) and boys (pueri), obviously intending, therefore, to express what those words in the Gospel clearly mean, little growing children from about six to ten years old. This, then, is also the true interpretation of this and of the other two passages in Origen, where the same word occurs. But a comparison with what appears from our Text-Book to have been considered Apostolical tradition before the time of Origen, shows that no other interpretation is admissible. The Text-Book speaks of those who go down with the other Catechumens into the baptismal bath, but are not yet in a state to make the proper responses; in that case the parents are bound to do it for them. This is undoubtedly the Apostolical practice to which Origen refers, for it was to the Church of Alexandria that he particularly belonged. In this ordinance the whole arrangement seems to be an exceptional one; and so it is in Origen, for he says the "little ones also." When the Church instituted pedobaptism (in the sense of children from six to ten years of age), she doubtless had before her eyes our Lord's affectionate words, referred to likewise by Origen on the occasion; and the divines of the sixteenth century soon found themselves obliged to revert to them. Tertullian rejects, in the following terms,

such an interpretation of that expression, after having refuted the objections urged by some persons against the postponement of baptism, on the strength of the story of the baptism of the eunuch by Philip, and that of St. Paul (De Bapt. c. 18.):—"For it is desirable to postpone baptism according to the position and disposition of each individual, as well as in reference to his age, but especially so in the case of children (parvuli). Where is the necessity for placing the sponsors in jeopardy, who may be prevented by death from performing their promises, or may be deceived by the breaking out of an evil disposition? It is true that our Lord said, 'Hinder them not from coming unto me;' but they may do so when they have arrived at the age of puberty, they may do so when they have begun to learn, and when they have learned to whom they are going. Why should they at that innocent age hasten to have their sins forgiven them? Ought we to act with less circumspection than in worldly matters, and allow those who are not intrusted with earthly property to be intrusted with heavenly? . . . Whoever attaches to baptism the importance it deserves, will be afraid rather of being too hasty than too procrastinating. True faith is sure of salvation." This is the way in which Tertullian treats the subject of baptism of growing children. What would he have said to the application of Christ's words to the case of infants?

The difference, then, between the ante-Nicene

and the later Church was essentially this: the later Church, with the exception of converts, only baptized new-born infants, and she did so on principle; the ancient Church, as a general rule, baptized adults, and only after they had gone through the course of instruction, and, as the exception only, Christian children who had not arrived at years of maturity, but never infants. Tertullian's opposition is to the baptism of young, growing children; he does not say one word about new-born infants. Neither does Origen, when his expressions are accurately weighed. Cyprian, and some other African bishops, his contemporaries, at the close of the third century, were the first who viewed baptism in the light of a washing away of the universal sinfulness of human nature, and connected this idea with that ordinance of the Old Testament, circumcision. If the sin to be washed away were not as much that actually committed as original hereditary sin, a new-born child might certainly as well be baptized as one growing up; or rather, it would be the most natural and safest thing to do so. Indeed, Cyprian thought the second day safer than the eighth, which some of his brethren proposed, as being analogous to the law respecting circumcision. Go but one step farther; establish a principle of aggression instead of defence, and baptism will be exclusively the water of regeneration, not for sins consciously committed before conversion, but for hereditary disposition to sin only, leaving

penances and priestly absolutions to procure forgiveness for the sins after baptism and secure "baptismal regeneration."

There are two very different reasons why the Church has been dragged into this wrong path. The first is the deep feeling prevalent in the Apostolic communities, of the evil of sin, of the sinfulness of man, and of his need of salvation, and the faith in the salvation brought and announced by Christ. This salvation consisting in communion with Christ, consequently with the congregation of the believers, any one who happened to be prevented by sickness or death from living in this communion, wished naturally to die in it. The only explanation of St. Paul's expression (1 Cor. xv. 29.) which can be maintained on philological and historical grounds, "Why are they then baptized for the dead?" implies the existence of a custom, the practice of which is not disapproved by the Apostle in that passage, but which subsequently is only found among the Cerinthians, Marcionites, and other sects. A brother or a Catechumen who could prove that a deceased Christian friend had a believing disposition, and a desire to be admitted into the Church, received baptism in his stead; that is to say, he made, in the presence of the congregation, the confession of faith, and took the baptismal vow for him. This evidence being given, such a one was considered as a brother, and as having "departed in peace," and was so mentioned in the

prayers of the Church. This is, in truth, nothing else but testimony to a fact, a well-grounded evidence of a departed brother having held the Christian faith during his lifetime. It is a form of the recognition of the "Baptism of Tears or Longing," which, like the "Baptism of Blood," was held equivalent to regular baptism. But certainly that form also betrays something of the superstitious fear of demons (δεισιδαιμονία) of the Jewish-heathen world, and this very absorbing dread of demoniacal influence must be considered as the second cause of the deviation from Apostolical doctrine and practice. That demonism has its deepest root in the moral hopelessness of the age, the despair of mankind as to itself and as to God, and, on the part of Christians, to the existing order of the world. It is unphilosophical and unhistorical, in tracing the development of Church doctrine, to overlook the prevalence of that feeling of decay and death which pervaded those ages. Doctrine as well as practice took a pathological development, because the age was both a despairing and a desperate one. There is no other way of explaining the infatuation of supposing that the sentence of condemnation, which Scripture and conscience proclaim against ungodly selfish nature striving in man for the mastery, could apply to the case of infants, in whose conscience the consciousness of God is as much implanted as is the God-forgetting love of self. It is as though the fear of those demons, which

the Church endeavoured to expel, as being the masters of the "old man," had again entered into the African divines. They made out of the extreme exception the unexceptionable rule, and hallowed as a Church doctrine, on which the salvation of the soul depended, what they must have despaired of justifying either by reason or by the ancient Church practices. Thus the Christian conscience became gradually bewildered, and thus the paternal face of the God of love, who hates iniquity, but loves His own creation and image, was transformed into the caricature of a bloodthirsty Moloch, and the way paved for spiritual despotism.

It is the tame copy of this caricature which still prevents the eternal love of God being felt as it ought in the Church of the free Gospel, and stifles that consciousness of the evil and misery of real sin, which was the truest element in the religious feeling of the ancient Church. This is the consequence of the admission of an untruth. When the Church attached rights and promises of blessing to any thing except to the conscious abandonment of sin, and to the voluntary vow of dedicating life and soul to the Lord, the consciousness of sin and the longing for real truthful reformation died away in the same proportion among her members.

II.

THE CHURCHES OF THE PRESENT DAY REFLECTED IN THIS PICTURE.

WHEN we look upon the picture thus presented to us of the general consciousness of the ancient Church, as exhibited at the beginning of the third century, we at once remark in it some dark spots which, upon closer observation, do not become transparent. Who can identify himself with the demonism which, like an incubus, presses upon the religious consciousness of that age? Who with that striving after forms which tends to give to the externals the appearance of objective reality, and thus throws into the background the true objective, the Divine essence, as well as its only true reflex, the human mind? Every retrograde step in spiritual religion is based on one of these two errors: heathen demonism, which binds the free spirit under the yoke of necessity, the powers of nature, and thus destroys the subjective element of religion; and Jewish formalism, which places the objective in externals, and thereby loses sight of God, the real objective, and of the God-seeking spirit. It cannot be denied that the germ of both these unhealthy tendencies, formalism and demon-

fear (the δεισιδαιμονία of Greek writers), began to show itself already in the ancient Church. And who does not at once perceive in the background the dark clouds of hierarchism, which endeavours to obtain dominion over conscience, in order to gain the mastery over the mind, and to substitute for the "Prince of this world" the Priest of this world? But these sombre clouds only serve to make the light of the foreground more vivid, and these dark spots become dissolved, in the telescope of historical contemplation, into undeveloped or veiled light. Substitute for demons, the formula: "the powers of nature," place conscious selfishness as its exponent in man, and prefix to the whole the *minus* sign in order to indicate that this selfishness is the negation of real existence. In doing so, you express that same philosophical truth mathematically, which those men saw before their mind's eye in the nebulous, but then impressive, forms of the mythological process. Do not, therefore, despise such mythological expressions: rather see whether they are not the historically necessary form of an eternal truth, which it is better to express imperfectly than to ignore or deny. If ever you succeed in discovering the Keplerian laws of the progress of mind through time, those nebulæ will have the same place in your system, which the mythology of the Greeks occupies in the history of their philosophy, that of a preformation. You will not covet, then, those forms

which were not made for you nor for your nation, and which the ancient Church invented with the same freedom with which you may reject them. But you will understand them for the first time, as being a part of universal history. Admit them then without hesitation, without any fear of thereby forfeiting your holy zeal for truth, if in your time, and among your co-religionists, the type should establish itself in place of the idea, and the symbol usurp the throne of God in the conscience. But, above all, cast a glance upon yourself, and upon your own times, and remark how, in the stead of that old formalism which has created beautiful forms, a lamentable absence of form, a negative formalism, has crept in. You will then become aware, that, in the stead of demonism, a sentimentality has established itself, which draws down the mind to the passivity of personal sensation, just as demonism degrades it to the state of hypostatized unconscious nature.

But if you look a little closer into the ecclesiastical condition of the two ages, are you not overpowered by one predominant feeling? And is this not the feeling, that in the one age we find, upon the whole, connexion, reality, internal and external truth; in the other, little else but patchwork and ruins, shams and phantoms? That in one case a real life was lived, a life of freedom, as to the Church and as to the individual; that in the other, conventionalism

is fostered, or rather in most instances maintained by fire and sword, by the tyranny of State Churches, or by the unthinking superstition of habit? and that such a state of things is most illadvisedly vaunted as possessing vitality, or even most impudently proclaims itself perfect and infallible?

The ancient baptism comprised, on Gospel grounds, four spiritual elements—instruction, examination, the vow, the initiation. To each of these elements was attached a sacred symbol, an externally working act of the Church, who, by means of her Bishops and Elders, ordained in the place of God. To instruction, the blessing corresponded; to examination, the imposition of hands; to confession, immersion in water; to the vow for life and for death, the unction as Priest and King. Thus did the beggar enter into the communion of the faithful; thus the emperor, when he ventured to do so. Constantine considered of it until his death-bed.

It is impossible but that this ceremony should have produced a great general impression, which was not diminished if the Initiated were the child of Christian parents. The act was his own, as much as it was in the case of a convert from heathenism. The very gradual advancement even of the age of baptism in the case of children of Christian families, must have been injurious to its character as a solemnity. We have already seen how, even before

the close of our period, the baptism of new-born infants grew out of that of children advancing towards the age of boyhood. We have seen how, from the baptism of the Spirit, which Christ instituted, people relapsed into ceremonial law, and fell back upon the shadow of a Jewish custom, which had ceased to be binding with the extinction of the nation, and now was made a sanction for the religion of the new Covenant of Humanity.

In consequence of this alteration and complete subversion of its main features, brought about principally by the Africans of the third century, and completed by Augustin, these natural elements have been, in the course of nearly fifteen centuries, most tragically decomposed, and nothing is now remaining anywhere but ruins. In the East people adhered to immersion, although this symbol of Man voluntarily and consciously making a vow of the sacrifice of self, lost all meaning in the immersion of a new-born child. The Eastern Church, moreover, practised the unction immediately after the immersion, although that unction implies, even more than immersion, Man's full consciousness, and is to be the seal of a free pledge, of a responsible act. Yet the Eastern Church requires, nevertheless, the general recognition of both, as necessary to salvation, and denies there is any efficacy in the Western form of baptism.

The Western Church evidently commenced her

career, under the guidance of Rome, with more freedom of thought. She abolished, together with adult baptism, its symbol, immersion, and introduced sprinkling in its stead. She retained, again, unction, the chrisma, by way of confirmation, and separated the two acts; so that, at all events, a beginning of consciousness and instruction may be assumed to be implied as a justification of the subsequent ceremony. Yet with this she rigidly maintained in her teaching, as the effect of the act of baptism, all the consequences which the Gospel and the ancient Church so undeniably and authentically connect with the previous instruction, and the voluntary conscious vow. The doctrine of Augustin was completed and stereotyped by Thomas Aquinas. The practice of the Latin Church has equally little correspondence with the custom and spirit of the ancient, as regards unction. The postponement of this solemnity is a recognition of the principle; but even the legal age of seven is much too early a period to show that the ceremony is not to be an *opus operatum*, but the voluntary act of the conscious mind. And still the practice prevailing in exclusively Catholic countries, of bringing children of four and five years old to the Bishop to be confirmed, proves how little the proper idea to be conveyed by the act is seriously attended to; and more strongly still, how little impression it has made on the popular mind.

Whatever improvement has been effected in this practice in France, and to a still greater extent in Catholic Germany, by way of preparation for the first Communion (the admission to which, according to the idea of the ancient Church, is expressed directly by the unction), is due, as history attests, to the influence of the Reformation on the formation of popular customs.

But what did the Reformation itself? The Reformers retained the doctrine of Augustin, together with pedobaptism. It is true, nevertheless, that they regarded the baptism of new-born infants merely as an offering, a dedication of the children by their parents, as a vicarious act, and as the first step only in a process which was actually to be completed by themselves in riper years, after their Christian education was finished, through their own voluntary confession and vow. We are indebted to Luther especially for this correct conception, and the having worthily and rationally carried it out is the most blessed work of the Evangelical Church of the German nation. Confirmation is, at the present moment, together with the principle of intellectual liberty, the Bible and the hymns, the principal means of keeping alive German Protestantism. But, at the same time, the doctrine of the Sacraments did not admit confirmation as one of them. Consequently, it was not held to be necessary to salvation, because not pre-

scribed by the Gospel, which, however, is equally silent upon the subject of the sprinkling of children. Thus the essential points in the Gospel and in the practice of the Apostles, faith and self-sacrifice, have been placed lower in the scale than the sprinkling, which was adopted instead of the Jewish immersion, and the personal act has been held in less estimation than its substitute. This may be compatible with the Romish doctrine of good works, but is as repugnant to the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, as it is to the precepts of the Gospel, and the practice of the Apostles. The leathern scholasticism of the seventeenth century, it is true, knew how to justify all that; but, of this justification, neither Scripture rightly interpreted, nor reason speaking its own language, can take cognizance.

The Protestant Church in Germany fell besides into another contradiction, inasmuch as she defended and admitted the validity of confirmation, as being the voluntary act of the individual, and yet supported, with all her power, the interference of the State, by whose regulations no person can be admitted into any trade or service, unless he can produce a certificate of confirmation.

The Reformed Church, which had no scruple in swallowing the camel of pedobaptism, as being in harmony with Scripture, found no place in its theo-

logical conscience for confirmation, because it was not prescribed in Scripture, was a human invention. In the course of two centuries, wherever the two Evangelical Confessions coexist, custom has corrected that untenable theological one-sidedness, by the introduction of the Lutheran confirmation, and this has been one of the many inward preparations to the union of the two Confessions.

The English Church, in her Articles, adopts the general Evangelical doctrine of baptism in such a way as to place human faith by the side of Divine grace (Art. 27. compared with Art. 11.). She reconciles, moreover, the scholastic doctrine which limits the efficacy of baptism to original sin, and excludes from it all deadly sins committed after baptism, as well as the fanatical view that persons once baptized can sin no more (Art. 16.). But in her Liturgy, exclusively and rigorously prescribed since the end of the seventeenth century, she certainly uses expressions which appear better suited to the Romish than the Evangelical doctrine, and which have consequently become a snare to many consciences, and a cause of constantly continuing separation from the Church. Lastly, confirmation has been no farther advanced, either doctrinally or practically, beyond the point at which it was left at the time of the separation from the Church of Rome. The English Church, therefore, is not only in this particular essentially unreformed,

but considerably behind the French, and especially behind the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. Episcopal confirmation, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the prelates of the day, remains, as to its essence and efficacy, an *opus operatum*. How this has reacted on infant baptism is clear from the fact, that, among the lower classes of the population of London, so many of those who belong to the Establishment are either not baptized at all, or never set their foot inside the Church again after baptism. This also accounts for so many of its members never having been confirmed.

It is unnecessary here to repeat how little foundation there is in the ancient Church for the exclusive right of the Bishop to confirm, which is the main hindrance to a radical reform. Neither must it, however, be forgotten that it dates from a period in which every town, however small, was a bishopric.

Still less is it to be wondered at, that the Quakers and Baptists have sprung out of this Church. The former of these consider external baptism as a Jewish custom, to be no longer binding after the downfall of the Jewish people; and the abuse to which it had led dangerous, if not fatal. The Baptists have restored adult baptism. But, as in the first case the negation of the form has grown into a formality; so, in the latter, has the restoration of an old form. The Baptists find it difficult to understand that the

idea of the German Protestant act of baptism, which concludes with the vow and benediction, corresponds exactly with the idea of the Gospel commandment, the letter of which they push to such an extent; and, under the yoke of an utterly one-sided rigid Calvinism, they are inclined to attach to their own form a superstitious power, by which the efficacy of a continually renewed faith is thrown into the background.

But how little the Churches of the seventeenth century can make head against the onsets of the Baptists, in countries where a great and free religious movement exists, is evinced by the fact, that, among serious Christians of the English race in the United States, the Baptists or Congregational preachers are on the increase more than any other sect, so that they form already the most numerous and most progressive community.

How much mischief and injury are inflicted on the life of the Church in general by this and similar separations, will appear upon a comparison of the parish schools of the English Congregations and those of the Apostolical Church. In the ancient Church every thing is based upon congregational life and instruction. In England, many of the noblest elements are withdrawn from the National Church, and the seceding congregations languish in consequence of isolation, and suffer still more by the pride of being the Elect. The former has never

established parish schools as a national institution, the latter have never striven after national life.

Neither as regards German and Continental parish schools in general, is a glance at that picture calculated to flatter our pride. The palsy of the life of the Church, and the decay of the spirit of a free Christian community, are but too manifestly exhibited by the prevalence of police regulations.

III.

THE MORAL APPLICATION TO THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE.

THIS is the picture, and this is the mirror. If the former be true and the latter faithful, it is high time to proceed to the work of restoration. As we have met everywhere with traces of death and of decay, so we have discovered on the other hand that the germs and scions of future life have not altogether become extinct. Who desires to establish what is dead? Who can wish to eradicate the germs of life? Who can revivify the former, however desirable it may be thought? Who can prevent the latter from increasing, however dangerous such a growth may be to the existing order of things?

Upon closer and deeper reflection, it will appear wise to retain pedobaptism, but to remodel the whole baptismal discipline on the following principles.

1. To this end, in the first place, the doctrine of biblical baptism must be reformed in the sense of the German Church, and of the doctrinal works of Schleiermacher, Neander, Nitzsch, and the German school in general. According to this view, our act

of baptism forms a whole, the commencement of which is the sprinkling of the child, the conclusion the pledge of the grown up and instructed young Christian, sealed by a blessing.

2. In the second place, the superstition that such children of Christian parents, as die of tender age unbaptized, are under damnation, from which they must be rescued by baptism, is to be put down for ever by bringing forward its true corrective.

3. This can only be done by positively and practically realizing the idea, that the baptism of newborn children is the outward sign of the vow of the parents to dedicate their child to God, as His gift intrusted to them, and to prepare it by a Christian education for becoming a member of the Christian Church until it be itself able to profess the faith in Christ, and to make the vow of a godly life dedicated to God and the brethren.

4. Further, at the performance of the ceremony, the duty imposed upon parents and sponsors, as sureties for the Christian education of the child at home and at school, must be brought more prominently forward; while, on the other hand, every expression must be omitted or modified which is only appropriate to cases where the person to be baptized takes himself the pledge, and which never ought to have been transferred from the ceremony of adult to that of infant baptism.

5 The act of baptism must again become a con-

gregational and Church festival, which cannot surely be effected solely by the circumstance of the ceremony being performed in the church.

6. The taking children to school and to church must be treated as an act of the life of the whole community, as it was in the Apostolical Church.

7. The confirmation must be performed with all the seriousness and solemnity which are usual in the German Evangelical Church.

On these fundamental assumptions the following principal heads of practical reform might be proposed for the present National Church communities whenever they resolve to enter upon a thorough reformation.

1. As in the ancient Church, baptismal festivals should be instituted. The ancient Church selected for this purpose Easter and Whitsuntide; to which, here and there, the festival of the Epiphany was added as representing the baptism of Christ. The most natural arrangement would be, the institution of FOUR BAPTISMAL FESTIVALS, three of them at the Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide holidays, the fourth on a Sunday in the autumn, or on the first Sunday in Advent, as being the beginning of the ecclesiastical year. In proposing such an arrangement it is supposed that on each of these days all children who have been born in the intermediate time will be baptized. The THANKSGIVING OF MOTHERS would

most naturally form a part of such a congregational festival, and constitute a visible bond of sisterhood amongst the mothers, whatever might be their rank.

2. On each of these festivals the candidates for baptism, with their parents and sponsors, should be considered as a BAPTISMAL CONGREGATION, and the ceremony as a common one, and as a portion of the Church service of the congregation.

3. The same days should also be the FESTIVALS OF INTRODUCTION of baptized children who have attained their seventh year, the time at which they generally enter the boys' and girls' school. The children of both sexes should, if possible, be introduced by their parents and sponsors as a SCHOOL CONGREGATION, to be admitted with prayer and blessing, and an exhortation setting forth that the object of the instruction they are now about to receive is to prepare them for confirmation.

4. Instead of either excluding altogether from Sunday service the children who are thus introduced into the Church (the school children who are passing from the stage of infancy to that of puberty), or disgusting them with it by making them listen to sermons they cannot understand, and which are in some respects totally unfitted for them, a SCHOOL SERVICE should be established for the younger ones, which, being short and congenial to their feelings, might make an impression and be beneficial to them.

5. CONFIRMATION should be conducted essentially

according to the custom and the Liturgical formularies of the German Lutheran Church, which cannot be surpassed in dignity and solemnity. In a note (B.) to this Part, one of these composed from the ancient formularies is appended, to which is added that agreed upon for the confirmation of German Catechumens at Jerusalem. As to the age for confirmation, the fourteenth birthday should be considered as the earliest: the custom of the Reformed Church, not to allow young persons to be prepared for the first communion before eighteen, is, on the whole, the safer one.

How far, and in what way, the episcopal element may be brought into prominence in this arrangement, will depend upon the constitution of each particular Church: it is clear, however, that this idea may be also realized by a collegiate cooperation of ministers placed upon an equal footing.

There are, however, two conditions indispensable to all such reforms. The first is the cessation of all religious persecution and all State-Church compulsion, and the recognition of the congregation of communicants as the organ of the Spirit in the Church. The second is the abolition of exclusion from a Church on account of difference in forms. I do not see for what good internal reason the Baptists, as such, can be excluded from a National Church. Those who give a preference to adult

baptism (and the number of such persons, under a reformed system, would be very small, at least where the German language is spoken) should no more be looked upon as heretics on that account, than Baptists, on their part, should stigmatize by that name such congregations as have a preference for infant-baptism. As to the Society of Friends, it certainly can only be said by ignorant people that they reject baptism altogether: for they most stringently insist upon spiritual baptism in the sense of the Gospel, the being immersed and buried with Christ. The misunderstanding which is the origin of their discontinuance of baptism has arisen, according to the law of reaction, from the prevalence of a materialistic view of baptism in the National Church out of which that Society took its origin. That misunderstanding can only be removed by bringing out in all its force the spirit of the original institution.

BOOK II.

THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

I.

THE PICTURE.

HERE I shall be able to be more brief than I was in the First Book, respecting the sense of the Ordinances. The genuine and ancient customs and ordinances, which are collected in the Church- and House-Book of the Apostolical Church, as well as in the Christian code, fully explain themselves, and their difference from the canonical law of the more modern hierarchy requires no comment. Nor have I much to say in detail respecting the practical application of the picture to our own times. My views on this subject are fully expressed in two previous works. I may, therefore, venture to confine myself here to general outlines from the point of view of Universal History.

The constitution of the Christian Church, like the political constitution of the Germanic races, rested upon the idea of a community freely submitting

to a divine order of society which calls mankind to freedom, and makes man free. Christianity was a free, and in a certain sense, a secret, association. Already Moses had based his reform upon such an association. At a time when Egypt was suffering under the most iron despotism, and when the Aramaic races of Asia were in a state of the most revolting religious and moral debasement, he formed a free people, and a people of God, by organizing it first as a secret religious community. It was by this agency that he threw off the bondage of an empire mighty both in Africa and Asia, and united the tribes of Israel, who were dissevered and trodden under foot, into a nation of universal historical importance. Jesus and his disciples formed a secret society first out of the children of that nation, at the last turning point of its history, when subjected to the most cruel despotism of republican emperors, and amid the despair of a highly civilized but dissolute world. This society was based upon the freedom of its members from the Levitical law, on their equality as children of God, on their brotherhood as men. It was this society, established upon this freedom, this equality, and this fraternity, which dissolved the greatest empire in the world, and led to the forming of a vast association, embracing the whole human family throughout the world-wide dominions of Rome. After this association had, in the course of ages, formed Christian nations and

states, and by their means remodelled Europe and the world, it fell into internal confusion, and became either petrified or decayed. All the movements of the last three hundred years tend towards a fearful dilemma: either a serious, judicious, conscious reform must be made in the Christian community of Western Europe, or the dissolution of the fundamental elements of society will be effected by social revolutions. There are countries, even now, where Socialism is the only sign of constitutional and religious life in the consciousness of the people. Socialism, however, is nothing but the demoniacal caricature of the original Christian Association, reflected by the concave mirror of hatred against the selfishness, luxury, and Mammon-worship of the higher classes. Christianity saved the old world from this misfortune, by bringing the Elect, through faith in God and in man, into a new world; but the passage lay over the ruins of existing states and civilization. The ancient world perished by the birth-throes of Christianity: ours, if not reformed, will perish by convulsions attending its decay. There is no other real sign given to our generation but this. The consideration of the picture of the religious and moral conditions which the constitution of the earliest Christian communities offers is on that account no idle question, but one of immediate interest and vital importance to the present age.

Every town-congregation of ancient Christianity,

the constitution of which we have to delineate, was a Church. The constitution of that Church was a congregational constitution. In St. Paul's Epistles, in the writings of Clemens Romanus, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, the Congregation is the highest organ of the spirit as well as power of the Church. It is the body of Christ, the embodiment of the person of Jesus of Nazareth in the society which was founded by Him, and through faith in Him. This congregation was governed and directed by a Council of Elders, which congregational council, at a later period, was presided over, in most Churches, by a governing overseer, the Bishop. But the ultimate decision, in important emergencies, rested with the whole congregation. The bishop and elders were its superintending members; its guides, but not its masters.

In most of the customs and ordinances transmitted to us, we find this active interference on the part of the congregation considerably weakened. Already a hierarchy has been established. Nevertheless the congregation elects its Bishop, and invites the bishops of the neighbouring localities to institute him into his office with prayer and the imposition of hands. If the congregation is still to be formed, the bishop names the Elders, three at least, and inducts them with prayer and a benediction. They form with him the Congregational Council. The bishop elects at least one Deacon, as his assistant; and appoints widows and young women to take care, both

spiritually and bodily, of the orphans, the sick, and the poor. If the bishopric of a congregation, already formed, become vacant, the form of episcopal election remains the same: the clergy elect with the people; there is no form of election prescribed, consequently none is excluded. If the office of Presbyter is vacant, sometimes the bishop and clergy, sometimes the whole congregation, fill it up. The bishop consecrates the presbyters, as he is himself consecrated by his brother bishops. Their ordination (dedication to God by prayer, with imposition of hands) is the same: only that the elders have no throne, or raised chair, in the apse at the end of the church, but sit upon benches on both sides. Between the clergy and the congregation stands the communion-table, their unity and connecting link.

The hypothesis, therefore, of the Presbyterian Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the Bishop, as the first of his peers (*primus inter pares*), sprang from the elders of the congregation, falls to the ground as unhistorical. But their idea of Elders, as both an officiating and ruling body, is quite correct. The ancient Church knows no more of a single Presbyter than of clerical government and election. It was only in very small places, manors (*villæ*), that the collegiate form was not adopted. There, a single clergyman, who, according to the use of the word Bishop in the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul, was called a Country Bishop (chorepis-

copus, i. e. country curate), managed the small community in its ordinary emergencies. His powers were limited, because he had not the assistance of a Church council.

The Lutheran view, again, especially that of the German Lutherans, according to which the clergy formed the order of teachers in the ancient Church, is entirely erroneous. The Church was a government, and the Bishop and Elders were magistrates; they directed the congregation, but without legislative power. Teaching and praying were open to every one in the Church of the Apostles; every man acting as a priest and anointed of the Lord. According to our Ordinances the laity may still teach the Catechumens, dismiss them even with the blessing from the public service; for all (it is said) have the spirit of the Lord. The first act of the newly baptized, on entering into the congregation, is to give, or respond to, the episcopal greeting of Peace, or the benediction.

The nature of things, however, led, as early as the second century, to collective congregations. The small village communities in the vicinity of the town, already, to a certain extent, formed such an association with those of the city. This, however, was only the first, and an imperfect arrangement; because the integral parts, with the exception of the town, had no complete organization. The principal towns in the then existing provinces of the

empire (and all the Apostolic Epistles are addressed to these) formed central points for the province or island, as mother towns or metropolises. The bishops assembled there in synod. Believers had the liberty of attending their sittings and hearing the discussions. The first bishop, in age or importance, presided.

As to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, however, the bishops had in early times incorporated with them a more considerable portion of the province. To Alexandria, the whole of Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis were united. We have, therefore, three different groups of Church jurisdiction: the town and adjacent villages; the principal and inferior towns of the island or province; and the great metropolis, with the entire province in the widest sense. Already, in the most restricted of these spheres, each individual portion was a complete Church in itself. Thus, we find the suburban towns incorporated with Rome; Tusculum and Præneste, Tibur and Velitræ, Ostia and Portus, each of them a bishopric. It is clear from the words of Hippolytus that there was no further extension of the Roman Church in his time. He makes no allusion whatever to the jurisdiction of Rome over the suburbicarian provinces placed under the *Vicarius urbis;* that is, all the South of Italy and the Islands, and Central Italy as far as the Apennines, inclusive of Umbria and Tuscany. This stage of the development, there-

fore, belongs only to the end of our period, the close of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The Roman Church at the beginning of the third century had not yet become the Italian (in our sense), still less the Latin, Church.

Now the circumstance in this ecclesiastical organization, which is of general historical interest, is this. The congregational element, which had united towns and villages, and had once formed the connecting link between the Churches of Jerusalem and of Antioch, did not extend to these wider relations. Rome and the adjacent towns were connected together, not by their congregations, nor even by their Church councils, but simply and solely by their bishops. In order to provide for their common wants, the bishops of these towns entered into the Council of the metropolitan congregation, which, in this way, exercised a certain jurisdiction over the other portions of the collective congregation. In this sense, and this only, can the thirty-fifth Apostolical Canon be understood. It is the germ of that subsequent metropolitan system, which is exhibited in the decrees of Nicæa (325) and of Antioch (341) in a more developed shape. The "nations" which assemble round their "first" bishop, and act in common with him, are precisely the districts of the Hellenic and Roman world which form a nation in the antique sense, together with their chief town (like Corinth, Ephesus, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome). I have discussed at length, in my

"Ignatian Letters," what was the peculiar development of this germ in the second century in Egypt. The Egyptian collection of Apostolic Ordinances, which has come to light since that publication, furnishes direct proof, that the consecration of the bishop of Alexandria by the clergy of his Church was a unique instance of that kind in Egypt; and that the metropolitan position of that capital did not in the least degree stand in the way of the independent episcopal organization of each individual town-congregation.

The Churches which grouped themselves round a great Church, stood in an organic, but strictly hierarchical connection with it. It was natural that common interests should be treated of in common, and decided upon under the presidency of the bishop of the metropolis. The other bishops were joint elders in this council. They formed, with the parish clergy of the capital, the presbytery of the chief bishop. This is the origin of the College of Cardinals.

This second stage in the development of the Church's constitution is, therefore, already infected with the decay of the times. There were no longer then any real nations, but only municipal unions. The ancient world did not know a free nation beyond the municipal limits, and therefore had no representative government. Christianity prepared this by clerical senates and synods: it could not create nations. The congregation was free, and her life the only living

and free life of the age. But this free element in the Christian community remains within the narrow limits of the municipal constitution; all beyond that is unfree, as regards the congregations. Independent and autonomic in their parochial concerns, the congregations are excluded from the general Church affairs.

But it is these precisely which became every day of more and more importance. In proportion as the relations grew more complicated, and the differences upon points of doctrine more serious, and in proportion as more stress was laid upon doctrinal forms, as symbols of the Church and conditions of Church communion, its government and destinies fell, more and more, into the hands of the bishop.

The connexion between the Church and the State was a purely negative one, and thereby necessarily hostile. The individual Church, whether in Rome or Jerusalem, Alexandria or Antioch, enjoyed a limited right of protection, as the Jews do at the present day in Rome. This was associated with harsh treatment of every description, and became, from time to time, not merely a grievous oppression, but cruel and bloody persecution; as in the case of the Jews in the middle ages. Christianity enjoined respect towards the ruling powers, as the administrators of the Divine order, and love towards them as well as towards all other enemies, but expressly also as such. For the same Christianity considered all the

earthly empires of the day as instruments of the Prince of Darkness, ordained by God for punishment; and, at the very head of the Christian view of the world stood the belief that all these must perish, in order that the kingdom of God, the final object of the "good tidings" to enslaved humanity, might appear. The hatred of the Jews, as the people of God, towards all their oppressors, passed on to all Christians, strengthened by the power of love towards the brethren of the free society of the children of God. They prayed for princes and for emperors, but their warmest prayer, their most fervent supplication, "Thy kingdom come," was for the speedy dissolution of this world of evil, with Satan and all his tormentors. In order fully to estimate the force of this feeling, we must realize to our minds the fact that the community of the Roman empire, and its right of citizenship, even before the time of Hippolytus, wonderfully favoured the idea of the Catholic (universal) Church. This idea was based on the original fundamental view of Christianity, but the Christians could not become fully conscious of it until the total destruction of Jerusalem under Hadrian. This momentous moral event brought the kingdom of God face to face with the kingdom of this world: the Universal Church did not even recognize the limits of the kingdom of this world as its own. Now this kingdom of God had no people beyond

the municipal sphere; just as the kingdom of this world, beyond that sphere, had no nations. There only remained administrative districts, which were termed Provinces, with the addition, after the time of Constantine, of the combination into Dioceses (in the political sense) and Prefectures.

The old world was doomed to fall into decay, and to do so by means of the dissolving agency of Christianity. Christianity was to prepare the way for a new world, but, in its then organization, it must necessarily suffer from the calamity of the age, the want of national life. Instead of the defunct municipalities, whose burdensome offices were avoided, as they now are in many parts of the Continent, it established in the towns Church authorities, animated with the internal life of a free people (populus means congregation), whereas the municipal corporations were bodies of police functionaries, almost as much as in modern France. It extended the free union to the neighbouring country population, and even to the country towns which were adjacent to a capital. But here, already, the congregational element remained unrepresented, and thus a national Church-union could no more be formed than a political nation. There existed, at that time, only the life of the corporations; and, beyond that, Christianity could not advance in its reorganizing social process. To represent this impossibility as the final aim, the

standard for all ages, is almost as rational as the jesuitical theory of Ludwig Von Haller, according to which monarchy does not allow of a State society, nor of a State law, the State itself being nothing but a conglomeration of private rights, of corporations and personalities, grouping themselves round a factitious personality, reigning by the grace of God (represented by the Pope).

Although there existed a clerical hierarchy in the congregation, a person might become an elder without having been a deacon, a bishop without having been consecrated as elder. All the clergy, besides, might marry like other Christians; only on the election of a bishop or elder, proof was required that he had been but once married; a second marriage being considered contrary to the injunction of the Apostle in the First Epistle to Timothy (iii. 2.).

From this objection to a second marriage, which, perhaps, originated in a misunderstanding, a rule was gradually formed, which Hippolytus held to be a law of the Church, in opposition to the Romish bishop Callistus: that every one who was unmarried at the time of his entry into the clerical office (i. e. becoming bishop, elder, or even deacon) was precluded from marrying so long as he retained his office. The authentic history of this gradual alteration is clear from the interpolations which were made, on this point, in the most ancient collections of the Christian Canons, as

fully appears from the table prefixed to our text of the same. The key to it, however, is to be looked for nowhere else than in the want of organic development of the congregational life, and in the exclusive claims of the clergy, which thereby became more and more established. Both again were intrinsically due to the wretchedness of the age, to the decline of all social life in the Hellenic and Roman world, and to the transformation of a commonwealth into the all-destroying and overwhelming military despotism of the emperors.

The stagnation of congregational life exhibits itself also but too clearly in the gradual displacement of the fundamental notions about Christian offices. As the bishop was the exclusive director in all matters not congregational but ecclesiastical, so were the elders in the congregational. Still the principle of collegiate power and action was retained, as well as that of the independence of the smaller in the collective congregations.

The most valuable portion, moreover, of the action of the congregations was preserved, namely, that of the services of charity. The office of Deacon or helper implies, in the full sense of the word, the attendance on the poor and the sick. To offer spiritual as well as bodily aid, and, indeed, to supply all common wants, was the individual duty of every Christian; and this divine idea of services of charity

had so deeply pervaded the mind of the Church, that the office of deacon and deaconess grew out of it. The latter were ordinarily widows, and the sisterhood of Widows is nothing more than that of Deaconesses. The recently recovered Coptic collection of Apostolical Church Ordinances furnishes most precious and original information upon this point also. The deacons had the charge of the poor, the deaconesses of the sick, and they attended indiscriminately upon those who stood in need of their consolation and assistance. A significant Egyptian legend attributes to Christ a speech addressed by Him to Mary and Martha, in a sense which, at all events, is deeply Christian and strictly Apostolical (1 Pet. iii. 7.), namely, that, in the Christian community, woman's weaker nature, when strengthened and elevated by the respect and honour of the man, developes a new and peculiar power, namely, that of serving and suffering Love.

The opulent provided for their poor; to which purpose the gifts offered at the common table, which became an altar as the symbol of a vow of self-dedication, were especially applied. It was a part of the system of community of goods among the early Christians, which had remained as a sacred custom. The first-fruits of corn and wine, and whatever was titheable of the produce of the earth, served for the maintenance of the clergy. In all our Collections, the validity

of the Apostolic injunction on that head is recognized; and especially the one, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn." In the re-written text of the first Greek Collection also, this precept is applied as signifying that, as the oxen by that means do not eat up all the corn on the threshing-floor, so the clergy should only appropriate to themselves a very small portion of the gifts of the congregation, or Church property.

II.

THE REFLEX.

HERE, again, no existing Church community comes up to that which is exhibited in the early Christian Churches, as the substance and aim of the idea of Christ and his Apostles. But in each of them remains and fragments are extant, conscious or unconscious, intentional or accidental reminiscences; in many of them even the germs of future life. And, besides, these fifteen centuries have had to struggle with an entirely new problem: the relation of the Church to a Christian State. This is the Gordian knot of modern Europe, easy to be cut, but impossible to be loosed except by Christian liberty being made the law of the land in Church and State.

The Greek Church, that is to say, the Church of Byzantium, which, after having oppressed all the national Churches in Syria, Egypt, and Assyria, rules over the ruins of the Byzantine empire and the vast and aspiring empire of Russia, hitherto only offers the stereotyped form of a system of discipline and of metropolitan government. The rigid Church discipline, with its penances and penalties, arose out of the spiritual superintendence of each brother by the congregation: in like manner, the right of permanent or

temporary exclusion, which we find in the Byzantine metropolitan system, was developed out of the power which the congregational unions of the ante-Nicene period possessed. The priests were the heirs of the congregation.

As in the Eastern, so in the Western Church, which was formed round the old capital of the Western Empire of Rome, the clergy is the ruling corporation. Only, as there the Bishop and Metropolitan, so here the Pope is supreme; synods and councils fall more and more into the background. In each, also, the despotic form of ecclesiastical sway has prevailed over the lay form of government, and is, again, essentially influenced by the despotism of the princes and nobles, which has become the state. In the West, however, man has had strength enough to make one despotism a check upon the other; in early days, the temporal upon the spiritual; in modern times, reversing the principle, the spiritual upon the temporal. In other words, the oppressed or repulsed spirit of freedom has instinctively used, sometimes a Pope, sometimes an Emperor, as its protector and tool.

Rome, in the nomination of Bishops, as everywhere else, makes the direct reverse of the Apostolical institution the principle and the fundamental law. In her eyes, the episcopal power emanates from the papal, and the Pope ought strictly, as matter of right, to nominate all Bishops. Where this is not the case, it arises from usurpation, or special arrangement and treaty

(concordat). This is, in principle, the same absolutism which, five centuries later, made its appearance in a temporal form. The clergy, which at first dispossessed the laity, and afterwards oppressed them, fell in consequence under the yoke of the Bishops; and these again under that of the Popes; the Princes shared with the latter the spoil, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough. The monastic orders formed the only free societies in this despotic system, but even they, by little and little, fell under the general thraldom.

Here, again, the Reformation established the saving principle of liberty, and the correct basis of a universal priesthood. But the avidity of princes, the thirst for plunder on the part of the nobility, the rage of the anti-reforming powers, and that decay of civilization among the people which was the result of the religious wars in Germany and France, rendered all free development in the leading countries of Europe impossible. The rage of controversy among divines made the people indifferent to ecclesiastical matters, and the jurist, as usual, framed for the princes a divine right out of usurpation. It is only the nineteenth century, after various reforms and revolutions, that has awakened the two great germs of life in the Evangelical Church: the missions to foreign countries, and the Diaconate in the old sense, or the so-called Home or Inner Mission. The restoration of the Institute of Deaconesses (not by the French,

as has lately been said in England, but by Germans) is a remarkably significant feature. Both have led to combinations and associations in Church life, beyond the limits of municipal life. The union of the two Protestant confessions (the Lutheran and the Reformed) with Synods composed of laity and clergy, in the greater part of Protestant Germany, is a vast step in the right direction. But Synods cannot govern; and, without Christian self-government, the very principle of vitality is wanting. The torpid Lutheranism of the Swedish Church has, like the whole constitutional life of that nation, outlived itself, and is waiting for reanimation by means of the indestructible vitality of the Northmen. The Danish Episcopacy is a mere state-machine. So were the bishops nominated for the coronation of the first king of Prussia, who stood there without father and without children, and melted away like a dream. The only hope of life for the new Prussian Episcopate is the possibility of its entering into an organic connexion with the truly vital and national element, the Synods, a connexion which at present does not exist.

The English Church, beyond the parochial cure of souls which is now on the whole excellent, has practically lost the constitutional institutions of medieval Catholic government, with the exception of the Episcopate, and has not acquired one single element of Protestant, nor consequently of Apostolical, constitutional life. She establishes Catholic hierarchism with-

out its hierarchical independence in reference to the state, and professes Protestant principles without being able to show any of their fruits in this domain. But she has preserved in the idea of the Episcopacy, as the constitutional kingship in the spiritual community, the natural and genuine Germanic organ of self-government; and it is to be hoped she will maintain it, if ever the spirit of Church reform should take possession of the English people by a national movement. The Congregation, or Parish, have no ecclesiastical rights; because the law of the Church is still the Canon Law of the old clerical corporation. By a mysterious intrusion into the original draft of the Articles, as agreed upon in the Convocation of 1571, "the Church" (which according to the Ecclesiastical Law is the Clergy in Convocation) "hath the power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith." (Note C.) The Colonial is a truly missionary Church. In the Foreign Mission of the Church the number of English missionaries is still insufficient. Home Mission the Church has none, but that of the Scripture Readers in the metropolis and in Ireland. The Diaconate is extinct. The Dissenters have no national institutions, but much discipline and congregational life. The only fruitful union between Church and Dissent, besides the Greek Bible Society, is in the City Mission, a noble form of Home Mission, although

less complete than the German. The spirit of political liberty which pervades the nation supplies, to a certain extent, the want of ecclesiastical freedom.

Scotland is what Holland would be without the spiritual influence of Germany; a rigid, although a morally highly respectable, Presbyterianism of the seventeenth century. In this Presbyterianism, however, the element of hierarchism, in a popular garb, is so predominant, that lately a dispute as to the supreme decision upon what is spiritual and what is temporal, in a mixed question of rights, has been turned into a vital question of communion with Christ, and made a source of bitter separation. Such a view has essentially a papistic element in it; with this difference, indeed, that the Church does not combat a foreign despotic legislation, but her own national legality. There is no other way of explaining this strange phenomenon (in which, nevertheless, the most noble heroism has manifested itself), but by the circumstance, that, in consequence of the atrocious persecutions and oppressions of the popular element by English supremacy and hierarchical episcopacy in the seventeenth century, and by an unjust law of patronage passed after the union in the eighteenth, the State is still viewed in the light of an enemy by the popular Church.

All these phenomena, however, can only be fully accounted for by the incredible confusion respecting the relation between the Church and State; that is

to say, between the nation as an ecclesiastical body and the nation as a political body; a confusion which continues to this hour. It is the history of the struggle between two usurping or dictatorial powers: a long history of sorrow and suffering, in the course of which we meet the scaffold and the stake.

A century after Hippolytus, Christianity became, under Constantine, from a persecuted sect, a recognized religion, and, with the passing exception of Julian, the religion of the rulers, and of the imperial army by which they governed.

Even before the end of the fourth century it was the dominant religion, and the Catholic Church enjoyed exclusive privileges. From the time of Theodosius downwards, the emperors carried out a system of persecution, and the bishops rivalled them in an almost Apocalyptic manner. Christianity was from the very beginning admitted into the empire as an episcopal and Catholic corporation, which centred more and more round the great imperial cities of Rome (and New-Rome), Alexandria, and Antioch. The Protector considered the bishops partly in the light of helpmates, partly in the light of subjects; and this is the point of a convivial joke of the emperor Constantine, which has been immortalized by Eusebius, comparing himself with the bishops as an Episcopus (overseer) of the external affairs of the State. His system was despotic monarchy, so was theirs. It is just as rational to build upon this a right of su-

premacy, as it is to establish the theory of passive obedience, and the right divine of absolute princes, by referring to Christian governments the words of the Gospel and Apostles meant for Nero and Neronian prefects. Constantine was the first, but already a complete, Byzantine despot, and would have remained so had he survived his baptism. The first result of the protectorate of the Christian emperors was, that in their codes they converted Church ordinances (that about baptism, for instance) into statute laws. Thus Justinian, at the beginning of the sixth century, ordered new-born infants to be baptized, under a penalty for neglecting it: a law which still passes for a Christian principle in the code of many a Christian state. Evangelical and Apostolical freedom thus received its death-blow from the same police crutch which was given it for support. It has remained in the same crippled state to this day in the East.

The hierarchical thirst for power in the bishops of the old capital of the West, favoured by the impressionable character and sense of veneration of an aspiring nationality, that of the German, formed the relation of the Church to the State in the papal sense. The same work was done in the Churches of the East, among the Slavonic tribes, grouped around New Rome, in the imperial sense. The Congregation disappeared here also, under the form of an unorganized "People," which might accept with favour

the priestly election of the bishop, or contest it with arms and in blood, in the interest of another priestly candidate. The Presbyters, with the other clergy, domineered over the congregation; the Bishops over the priests; the Metropolitan over the bishops; and lastly, the Pope over them all directly, and besides, indirectly over the bishops through the metropolitans, and over the congregations, i. e. the nations, through the priests and monks. The Goths resisted; the Frankish Carlovingians leagued themselves with Rome, which, at that same moment, introduced into Germany the complete system of spiritual absolutism by means of Boniface, a West-Saxon Englishman brought up at Rome, the founder of the archbishopric of Mayence. Charlemagne, who had, it is true, a tendency towards absolute government, but who was, nevertheless, a genuine German king, so correctly foresaw the result, that towards the close of his life he expressed deep repentance for having allowed the stolen crown of the Byzantine emperors to be placed on his head at the altar of St. Peter's by a Roman priest. Not less warranted was the grief of his Franks, that the lying and despotic title of Emperor was substituted for the national and constitutional Germanic title of King, in the sense in which it still exists in England. The papal power naturally prevailed over the imperial; for it represented the spiritual and human

element in opposition to the military power and feudal violence of the princes and nobles.

A real, complete nationality, like that of the ancient world, could not be formed, for this very reason, that the highest moral responsibility was wanting, the national decision on spiritual matters, by which nations become of age. The conscience of the German nation, then the predominant one, lay buried under the altar on which the first so-called Roman emperor of the New Occident had received the Byzantine crown. Besides this, the Byzantine law, which deifies absolutism, was introduced from Italy: as well as papal supremacy, a well-merited punishment for the injustice committed by the Germans towards the free cities of Italy. After the vitality of the Germanic people was thus crippled to a vast extent (and in Romanic Gaul, which, by the Frank conquest, did not cease to be Celtic, all this took place to a still greater degree), a national feeling sprang up for the first time, on a small scale, in the free cities of Germany in the thirteenth century. It was within them, and through them, that the first spark of the internal as well as external life of the future was kindled.

When, two centuries afterwards, the Reformation gave to this element of life form and consistency, the nationality of Church life which the Reformation called forth, yea postulated and hallowed, established itself in opposition to the Clergy-corpora-

tion, as a sovereign right, which is expressed by the word "Supremacy." The Evangelical Prince took the place of the people, who were not yet reorganised as a community. This is the origin of the modern antagonism of Church and State, or State and Church. The supremacy, or the *jus majestaticum circa sacra*, is nothing but the dictatorial form of defending the national liberty against clergy-corporation and canon law; with the dictatorship that antagonism ends, but not necessarily all relation between the Church and Nation.

The rude and plunder-loving nobility joined the princely despotism; the jurist made a virtue of necessity, and a master of the head of the Church. The Church was even plundered and oppressed in many a republic, where, however, Presbyterianism infused into the Church the germ of life by the establishment of Synods, consisting of laymen and spiritual delegates, and superintendents (bishops), somewhat after the model of the primitive Church. I have shown elsewhere by what artifices this germ was kept under and confined, forced back, and crippled. In the United States, where these means were not used, the formula of "Separation of Church and State" was established: a doctrine which is marked by a blind reaction against the idea of a National Church, as identical with the old State-Church. It was also in the United States that the purely clerical Church of episcopal England grew into a

congregational one, although its clerical doctrine and its exclusive Anglicanism will never allow it to become, in this imperfect state, the expression of that gigantic new Anglo-Saxon nationality.

It must be always borne in mind, that in Europe, wherever untrammelled by clerical or police restraint, the universal conscience (commonly called public opinion) has pronounced this verdict: "It is not well that the political government should rule the Church; but it is better than that the ecclesiastical corporation, through the Church, should subjugate both government and people." Some men of noble minds have a leaning towards papacy, occasionally without being aware of or wishing it, either because they are weary of police restraint, or because they are unwilling to throw into the political scale the sacred interests of the Church, and to embroil her guardians in the party struggles of the day for power. But this marks only a period of transition: as a system for the future it is a shortsighted, insufficient, and destructive policy, to which the best among those men will not long cling.

If we hold up this general picture before the mirror of the Apostolical Church, we shall see reflected this formula: The government of the Church by sovereign protectors can only be regarded as a dictatorship, and, consequently, as a mere temporary and transitory form. The true restoration must begin by recognizing the congregation as the primi-

tive vehicle of Church life, commencing with the local, and ending with the national congregation. In this manner the protectorial connexion, like every other dictatorship, may pave the way to freedom and renewed vitality. In most cases, the dictator has it still in his power to bring about such a happy consummation in a conservative form. Its formula I believe to be in the following axioms:

Bishops and elders are essentially Rulers. Rulers must have Power. Power must have Law. Law must have People. The Church-People, to make laws, must have organized Congregations. Congregations must form Synods, which are representative congregations. Synods must represent organically the lay and the clergy elements. The clerical element is either a parochial or an ecclesiastical one. The complete Synod, therefore, will in general have three orders: first, the Bishops or superintendents, personally; secondly, the deputies of the parochial Clergy; and thirdly, the representatives of the Laymen, elected either by the communicants of the congregations, or by the lay elders forming the Church-council or presbytery. These last must have the right to demand the vote by order, and thus exercise their legislative veto by themselves. Bishops elected or nominated without the cooperation of the synod have no natural ecclesiastical basis.

III.

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

THE two bright points in the ancient Church, as regards its constitution, are the Episcopate and the Congregational organization. These two Institutions have an undying vitality; the rest is obsolete and inapplicable.

The Episcopate was originally the independent position of a city clergyman, presiding over the congregation with the neighbouring villages, having a body of Elders attached to him. Where such a council can be formed, there is a complete Church, a bishopric. The Elders are teachers and administrators. If an individual happen to be engaged in either of these offices more exclusively than the other, it makes no real alteration in his position, for the Presbyters of the ancient Church filled both situations. Their office was literally an office, not a rank. The country clergymen were most probably members of the ecclesiastical council of the city Church: as the bishops of the country towns certainly were members of the metropolitan presbytery.

Now, if we make a practical application of this idea to our own circumstances, the restoration of the bishopric would give us a district like a small English county; that is to say, a district including a town, which combines within it all the elements requisite for the organization of a full congregation, and especially, therefore, one which contains an educational establishment or school.

As regards the formation of diocesan congregations (synods), however, we must supply the defects of the Churches of the third century, which produced such bitter fruits. We must make them consist, not of bishops and other ecclesiastics merely, but also of lay delegates from the single congregations.

It must depend upon the particular relations and circumstances of the case, how far any steps can be taken towards Provincial and National Synods. Uniformity is the most dangerous foe of unity, because it gives the appearance of real internal unity, and conceals the want of it; while, on the other hand, it elevates the external above the real.

As to National Church life, the aim must be, a union between different Protestant communities, on the basis on which it has been proposed in Prussia: a common Liturgy, with full liberty as to its use in the parts connected with theological controversies between Lutherans and Calvinists, and a common Synodical constitution. This union has been car-

ried into effect in the greater part of Protestant Germany, since 1817, although in an imperfect and not always quite correct manner, which very naturally has produced the reaction of the last few years. But the idea of such a union lives, as a cherished national and Christian project, in the minds of an overwhelming majority among the higher and middle classes. Arnold laboured to bring about something of a similar kind in England.

The point of union in the extra-national or Catholic life of the Church is based upon the universality of the theological and philosophical literature of the European world, as the national ecclesiastical life is upon the organ of the intelligence of the public mind, the national literature. But the first condition requisite for bringing about a really living union of the national Churches is, cooperation for a common, elevating, truly human, and Christian purpose. True Alliance is impossible without such a practical purpose; and free cooperation, not union, is the watchword.

Such a purpose is furnished eminently by the Mission. Through its means, a blessed cooperation of the English and German Churches has been already effected. The obligation that those who are sent out by the Church Missionary Society should receive English ordination, arises simply and solely from the peculiar connexion between the English Church and

State. Although the Catholicizing portion of the clergy attaches to ordination fanatical and superstitious notions, men of God, like Schwartz, Gobat, and Krapff, the apostles of India, Abyssinia, and Equatorial Africa, have felt that this should not prevent them from combining with it a rational view. Nor should the German missionaries, when they return home, feel any scruple about being ordained in the German and Swedish sense, that is, suffering themselves to be instituted to any given office with blessing and prayer, where even the laws of the country meet Episcopalian narrow-mindedness by an equally narrow Presbyterianism.

The whole idea of Ordination, in the sense of the High Church party, is as foreign to the ancient Church as it is incompatible with Evangelical doctrine.

So the indelibility of the canonical character of the clergy, although ascribed to pope Caius (283), is foreign to the ante-Nicene period. It has been argued in France, in favour of not allowing a right of civil marriage to priests seceding from the Church, that without it very many clergymen would throw off their gowns. A police regulation of this kind, however, seems as unworthy of a Church of the Gospel, and of a free Germanic land, as the restoration of the restraints of the walls of a cloister. So it has even been felt in Belgium, where the

priest does not lose his rights as a citizen, if he resigns his clerical office.

Thus much upon the applicability of the Episcopate, as one of the two vital institutions of the ancient Church. Those Churches who have it ought to reform it, if they will boast of Apostolicity: those who have it not would do well to restore it, in order to find in it a means for creating and maintaining a self-governing national Church.

As to the second point, the organization of the local Congregational life of the people, the Episcopal Church of England has scarcely a trace of them, the congregation, as such, possessing no ecclesiastical rights, and having no canonical redress against their clergyman and bishop, nor any control over their own congregational affairs beyond the pecuniary check exercised in some trifling matters by the vestry. At this point Church reform must begin. Any such reform is impossible, without the organization of the congregational life, the right of a limited veto, and a system of election for being represented in diocesan synods. The theoretical controversy, whether the revival of the synodical life of the Church ought to emanate, in the first place, from the Convocation, or from a Royal Commission, can, practically, only be settled in the second or national, not in the clerical, sense. All the historical precedents are besides in its favour. But

parliamentary interference ought only to come in at the last stage, when a new charter of the Church is to be legally acknowledged and confirmed: for the fiction of the Parliament being, as it were, the lay branch of the Convocation, is entirely destroyed by the late political reforms. The right of free assent cannot be denied to the clergy: but it seems not to follow, that they must exercise it in the form of Convocation, which itself has usurped the place of the Synod.

The Episcopal Church of Sweden has done more for the congregation; and her further reform is, comparatively speaking, easy, because she has abolished the binding power of the canon law, without the repeal of which no national Church can move a single step in the way of reconstructive reform.

The Reformed Churches of Holland and Germany have only to preserve, purify, and complete the synodic element, in order to come up to the constitutional model of primitive Christianity; it being well understood, that the principle must be preserved of considering those only as members who live in communion with the Church. But the new element of free Christian association, coupled with a restored diaconate in the ancient sense, is the vocation of the day: and this element comes from Protestant Germany. The Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, who serve its hospitals, educate the orphans, and

reform the fallen, and the Associations of the Inner Mission of Wichern, which are more and more covering Protestant Germany with a network of practical charity and brotherhood, are the living evidences of the Spirit of God in the German Church, enabling her to sing, in all humility, her old hymn:

"Er ist mit uns wohl auf dem Plan
Mit seinem Geist und Gaben!"

BOOK III.

THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE, AND THE CHURCH LITURGY OR ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE.

I.

THE PICTURE.

AFTER what I have said in the Second Book, and in other works, it only remains, in this place, to consider the Liturgy, and that of the Communion Service in particular, from the point of view of Universal History, in order to elucidate the idea of the Christian sacrifice, and to point out the grand epochs in its development. These considerations will therefore be the key to the complete view of the epochs of the Sacramental Liturgies of the ancient Church which we shall exhibit in the Fourth Volume, based upon all that exists of genuine documents.

The original liturgical arrangements of the earliest Church appear very scanty, if we look in them for forms of prayer. Their almost exclusive object was to give the usual order of the service, and especially the order of the acts which constituted,

according to the custom of the second century, the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The commencement of each of these acts was, as a general rule, marked or introduced by the primitive symbolic forms of mutual salutation and benediction on the part of the clergy and congregation, or by the responsive recitation of a verse of the Psalms. What is thus solemnly announced is an organic part of the service: and the fundamental idea of the whole worship is, that it is a common act of the people, commencing by teaching and singing, and concluding with prayer and blessing. Now this act is an external one, in the ordinary sense of the word; and in that sense there are only two great acts in the service, the Oblation and the Communion. The Oblation is the offering of contributions to the Lord's Supper, either for the love-feast, or for the clergy and poorer part of the congregation, and includes the placing on the communion-table of the bread and wine. The Communion is the Supper of the people, the Kiss of Peace the solemn preparation either for the Oblation or for the Communion. But there are also spiritual acts. Such are Prayer, whether petition or thanksgiving; such is, in an eminent sense, the Sacrificial Prayer, the expression of the act of internal self-sacrifice, of which the consecration of the elements is only the introduction. Thus the whole service was the spiritual act of the worshipping congregation. The external act was combined with

praying: it was sacred only so far as it was symbolical of some inner act, more clearly expressed by prayer. The external posture (standing up, bending, or kneeling) which accompanied the word had likewise such a symbolical meaning. But whether a sacred word, or solemn position, all was equally meant to represent what took place internally, and had no essential value except as thus being a sign of that real internal act of the mind. The congregational service, therefore, was principally worship, and the sacrifice the culminating point of the act. But the preparatory teaching, also, like the preparatory confession of sins and the prayers, took the form of acts, inasmuch as the congregation expressed their participation in the reading of Scripture and in the sermon, as well as in that confession and in these prayers, by the responsive act of saying or singing Amen! Hallelujah! or a responsive sentence or hymn. The sermon itself, however, was, like every prayer except the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the Invocation of the Spirit, an extemporization: it was a high spiritual act, a living manifestation of that Spirit of God which was promised and given to the congregation of believers.

According to the ancient Church there is no Christian worship except where the people perform such an inward act, and, therefore, in the higher sense, no worship without sacrifice. Now, the order, sequence, and import of the individual portions of these sacred acts, the aim and scope of the Church

Prayer uttered, are usually enumerated or intimated in this our general frame. The prayers which we read in the present Greek text of the "Apostolic Constitutions" bear self-evident proofs of a later date, by the very circumstance of their not being found in the earlier and purer texts, and by their being very unskilfully inserted. Even the most ancient liturgical formulary, namely, that which is inserted into the Abyssinian text of the "Apostolical Constitutions" of the Coptic Church, is not found in the original text of the Coptic Collection. Still, as my "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ" in the Fourth Volume will prove, there existed in the time of Hippolytus complete formularies of the real Communion Service, which were themselves already an amplification of a shorter formulary of the second century. But these details we must refer to the Fourth Volume; for they cannot be understood except by a comparison with the later forms. The free use made of the Liturgies of our age shows that they were not rigorously prescribed formularies, and that they left much for free prayer and for selection. This applies in particular to the principal prayer, used at the eucharistic Thanksgiving, before the Lord's Supper, the prayer of consecration. This prayer, in its original shape, is a supplication that God will send down His Holy Spirit on the congregation, and sanctify their hearts: in the liturgical formularies the Spirit is called down on the congregation and on

their offerings, in order that the latter may become to the communicants the Lord's Body and Blood. There was originally only one prescribed prayer here, namely, the Lord's Prayer; which, for this purpose, was amplified and extended liturgically, so as to include, implicitly or explicitly, that Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

The Sunday service consisted of two parts. The first commenced with singing of psalms out of the psalm-book, or of new psalms and hymns in the Greek or Roman metre. It concluded with the homily or sermon, that is to say, with the expounding of the portion of Scripture which had been read, coupled with a practical application and exhortation. The Catechumens, who had begun their course of instruction, were present at this part of the service. Strangers, likewise, might be present as guests, or to satisfy their curiosity. The Catechumens were dismissed with a prayer and blessing before the Lord's Supper was celebrated. According to the Alexandrian Constitutions this prayer and blessing might be delivered by a layman; a relic of the most ancient Apostolical freedom of teaching and praying in the congregation. All strangers were then enjoined to withdraw from the worship of the Believers. The Believers hereupon expressed generally their brotherhood by saluting each other with the kiss of peace: the men the men, and the women the women. This was done in imitation of the custom established,

as it appears, by Christ among His disciples. The solemnity was devised to hallow the desecrated human body, and restore the desecrated temple of God: it was maintained in the midst of a corrupt and sneering world, with that courage which faith alone inspires.

This service, likewise, of the Believers had its own Church-singing, and we may venture to consider as one of the earliest of them the Morning Hymn, the most venerable of all, to which Pliny the Younger unmistakably alludes, and the older form of which we think we have restored. The Christians used, besides, several other morning and evening hymns. Spiritual odes, private hymns, especially for morning and evening devotion, likewise enlivened domestic life. We give an evening hymn of primitive Greek origin, which is akin to the old Hellenic salutation of light when the evening lamp was lighted. Learned private compositions, like the one with which the "Pedagogue" of Clemens of Alexandria concludes, do not belong to this class. They were never used by the congregations, and, indeed, were as little adapted as they were intended for that purpose. Every thing really old and genuine which belongs here is given fully in our Text-Book, the Notes to which furnish all requisite information.

The first of the two principal acts in the celebration of the Lord's Supper was the offering of gifts on the part of the members of the Church,

and the placing of them on the communion-table, or under and by the side of it, by the clergy, the elders of the congregation, and their assistants. Now this offering, and the thanks for the offered gifts in a prayer of blessing, called by Irenæus the sacrificial act of Christian piety, are, as is shown in detail in the Second Part, an Apostolic institution. It is impossible to doubt the truth of such a statement, if we read our Text-Book, and consider the general custom of the ancient Christian congregations. The material misunderstanding of this so simply venerable and deeply significant act, and the mystico-magical superstition which has gradually been engrafted upon it, are fully explained, as can now be authentically proved, by the entire perversion of the original notions of Sacrifice, Church, and Priesthood. But this explanation implies the admission of that custom being a primitive one, and instituted by the Apostles.

When the Sunday observance was extended beyond the apartments of individual believing families, and special rooms for prayer were appointed, the picture of this act of Oblation can be represented in its fullest details. The members of the Church who had any thing to give (frequently the minority, therefore), not only took upon themselves the charge of the bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, but likewise brought with them the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil, and other gifts of the season. With this Oblation the Service of the Believers originally began. When

all those who were not members of the congregation had withdrawn, the persons offering and other communicants drew near the altar. The elders and their assistants received every thing, and arranged the gifts in order, placing them on or round the table of the Holy Supper, the visible centre of the great act.

Thus when, with a wonderful instinct, the oblong basilica-form, with the apse at the end, was established as the generally prevailing type for the Hall of Prayer (and the first adulterated Greek Collection so gives it), the clergy took their places in that circular building, the old tribunal, on both sides of the bishop's chair; the congregation stood in the nave and the side aisles, if the building contained such, the men and women apart. The table, which the inward sacrifice of believers, as brothers in Christ, made the altar of mankind, stood in the only natural place for it, between the clergy and congregation. Thus its position was very soon fixed in the intersection of the transepts and the nave, or the entrance of the chancel. When the Service of the Believers was about to begin, the clergy approached the altar from one side, the congregation from the other. The bishop, or officiating elder, stood behind or by the side of the altar, looking towards the congregation. The direction of the Church was usually, but without any superstitious law upon the subject, from east to

west: in the Eastern Church the apse formed the east side; in Rome the opposite direction seems to have originally prevailed. I have shown all this in detail in my work on the Roman Basilicas, and in the plates belonging to it.

The congregation had now "built itself up"; that is to say, the feeling of their mutual community with God through Christ, as the Eternal High Priest, had become strong in their souls. In this tone of mind, with this consciousness, they advanced to the great act, the object of the ceremony. This act, as cannot be too often repeated, was the thankful sacrifice of Self, a vow which was to be pledged here, to be sealed in the Lord's Supper, and realized by continual struggle in life for the promotion of the kingdom of God. What appeared externally was the offering of the bread and wine: the internal action was the act of sacrifice on the part of the Church in gratitude for the mercies and blessings of God, with especial thankful remembrance of the sacrificial death of Jesus for mankind. This internal act was from the very first expressed in words, not simply in symbolical signs. The Spirit found its own sign, the Word. This word was of a twofold character, the one fixed, the other free. The liturgically amplified and adapted Lord's Prayer was the fixed symbolical element: the free prayer consisted in a form of praise of God, the Creator, the Sustainer, and Saviour, a form transferred from the thanksgiving offered by every head of

a Jewish family before meat. The Invocation of the Spirit was expressed either by the Lord's Prayer, or in the prayer of thanksgiving. Our records state that it was left to every bishop and elder to express the outpouring of the thankful heart, uttered in the soul of the congregation, before the Feast of Love, in words inspired by the Spirit at the moment. This point is so firmly established, that it is unnecessary for me to add any thing on the subject.

But it is important to prove three things, which have hitherto been by no means fully acknowledged, and still less demonstrated. First, that our present complete form of the Lord's Prayer has grown out of its being used in this act for the purpose of calling down a blessing upon the thanksgiving congregation. Secondly, that in this liturgical amplified Lord's Prayer, the germ of the ecclesiastical prayer of Consecration was already developed at the end of the first century. Thirdly, that the established prayers of Consecration, in the fourth and fifth centuries, and the whole set of the prayers of Oblation, or the prayers preceding the administration of the Supper, sprang from the union of the ecclesiastical Lord's Prayer and the originally free prayer of the Jewish thanksgiving: to which prayers the words of Institution, cited historically, were joined.

A series of testimony, reaching down to Gregory the Great, proves that the entire act of prayer was originally frequently represented by the Lord's

Prayer alone, but was never performed without it. Now, in this ancient custom, and in no other cause, originated our concluding doxology in the Lord's Prayer, as well as the "Amen"; that is to say, the two additions which appear in uncritical editions of the New Testament, as well as in the ecclesiastical translations, as a portion of the text of St. Matthew's Gospel (vi. 13.; compare Luke, xi. 4.). The consecrating prayer before the Lord's Supper, from which all our Church prayers have been made, had, as intimated above, a double historical basis. One was the prayer such as the head of a Jewish family uttered before eating, and before the distribution of the wine, and such as Christ at the Last Supper uttered, "blessing;" that is to say, the giving of thanks, with especial reference to His own sacrificial death. The account of this event (the Institution of the Supper, as it is called) might at the Church ceremony be presumed to be known, or might be recited on account of its universal importance. The prayer which the Lord Himself uttered at the Last Supper was nowhere recorded, nor was it destined to be used on any other occasion. The president of the assembled Christian community spoke as the Spirit gave him utterance, but, from all the indications which we find, this thanksgiving, arising from the Jewish thanksgiving for the gifts of bread and wine, became a general thanksgiving for all the other blessings bestowed by God. Such,

then, was the basis of that prayer which had reference to the gifts, to their offering, and to the partaking of the same.

The other basis, the Lord's Prayer, was unconnected with the Supper, or any thing external; it was a general supplication. To it the especial prayer for the occasion, that the Holy Ghost might be poured down on the congregation preparing for the sacrifice, might be joined. Finally, any such prayer must have concluded with the praise of God.

Both elements must have been in various ways combined. The supplication for the outpouring of the Spirit on the congregation might be united with the thanks for the bread and wine set before them: the praise of God with thankfulness for His gifts. The sacrifice of the worshipping believers, the culminating point of the internal act, was symbolically intimated by the offering and consecration of the gifts, sealed and substantiated by the grateful partaking in remembrance of Christ and of His sacrificial death. When the Spirit of the congregation sought for words to express this act of sacrifice, it might find them in the Lord's Prayer or in a free prayer, or in both.

Let us first of all examine the relation between the Lord's Prayer and the three parts of the act of prayer, from the offering to the distribution of the elements: first, the supplication; secondly, the praise and thanksgiving; or, in theological terms, the pre-

catory, the eucharistic, and the sacrificial prayers. To these were to be added, finally, the utterance, by the congregation, of their concordance with the vows of their minister, if he said the prayer; or by the minister, of his participation in those of the people, if (as in the Greek Church) they said the Lord's Prayer. The three parts of the liturgically extended Lord's Prayer are in exact correspondence with these three acts: the petitions, with the supplication; the doxology, with the praise and thanksgiving; the Amen, with the general concordance. Now those petitions were originally only six: the seventh is nothing but the response of the worshipping congregation to what precedes. This will explain the fact that the one half of the ancient tradition omits this seventh petition in the text of the Gospel of St. Luke: if it had originally formed a part of the text, it would never have been left out in a MS. Secondly, we have here the explanation of a custom prevalent in many ancient Churches, of the minister repeating the Lord's Prayer as far as the words, "And lead us not into temptation;" and of the people answering, "But deliver us from evil:" or *vice versâ*. In some Liturgies the response begins even with the fifth petition, "Lead us not into temptation;" but all our manuscripts of the Gospel attribute these words to Christ himself. Thus much as to the Scriptural text of the petition having been amplified by the primitive Communion Service. But it is a fact capable

of direct proof, that the second of the six original petitions was modified for this purpose. It is only by the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer at this place that we can explain the otherwise utterly unintelligible origin of the reading to which Tertullian alludes as that of the Marcionites, and which Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus give and notice as an ancient authentic reading; namely, instead of the supplication: "Thy kingdom come," these words: "The Holy Ghost descend upon us and purify us."

As a various reading of the model prayer given by Christ to the Apostles, this is absolute nonsense; as the germ of the development of the prayer of consecration from the Lord's Prayer, it is invaluable. For it contains the fundamental thought of the more extended Church prayer of consecration, to which Irenæus already alludes: the supplication that the Holy Spirit may descend upon us and sanctify our hearts. This is the original idea: the invocation of the blessing of the Spirit upon the bread and wine which we are about to partake of as the body of our Lord is an amplification.

The fundamental idea of all Christian worship, the thankful self-sacrifice, was never so fully expressed by the ancient Church as would have been desirable when the liturgical formularies became fixed. It became a fatal circumstance, that the service of adoration, or self-sacrifice, was not separated from the

celebration of the Lord's Supper at the time when the Communion of the whole congregation ceased, or before that period. The substitution of a mock oblation for the real oblation of the people, was another step in the wrong direction. On this point, the principles have been established in the Second Volume: the Liturgies in the Fourth exhibit the details.

Two facts, however, must be pointed out here, on account of subsequent misunderstandings, of which we shall have to speak presently. The Communion was always preceded by a prayer of consecration, either the Lord's Prayer or a special prayer of Invocation, or both. Now, as the self-offering was nothing but the highest point of the consecration prayer, it always took place *before* the Communion; it never followed it. The Communion was the sealing of the sacrifice, of the vow of the believer, but it was not a sacrifice itself, nor was the real sacrifice merely an expression of thanks for the Communion: on the contrary, it was, and is, independent of the Communion. That during the sixth century the Roman Church said it after the Communion, if at all, is a curious circumstance, which can only be accounted for by a misunderstanding of the ancient custom, not to write down those words in the formularies for the Communion, any more than the free prayer of thanksgiving.

Having established this point as the first liturgical

germ of the Communion Service, we can now, with greater distinctness, trace a picture according to the different epochs of the Communion Service.

The expression, by liturgical formularies, of the new internal life of mankind in God commenced with the Lord's Prayer and free thanksgiving in the first age of the Apostles. When the worshipping congregation became conscious of having a place in the world's history, which was the case after the first, and still more after the second and final, destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, the spirit sought for more definite expressions of that inward life and act. At the same time, also, the solemnity itself, and the symbolical signification of the act of offering and of the thing offered, became more significant. The third century had a more developed Liturgy than the second; but the free prayer seems to have still had a place by the side of the formulary. A solemn set of words for the Invocation of the Spirit upon the people, or upon the people and their oblations, was, as it appears, always used in every Church, from the early part of the second century. But the Coptic Constitutions prove that the congregation had jealously insisted that every minister should on the whole deliver his prayer of thanksgiving as the Spirit gave him utterance, with this condition, that he must address it to the only true God and Creator, the Father of the Son, and Sender of the Spirit, and

not to a God of the philosophical schools; in short, as an orthodox Christian.

The Spirit of God alone, therefore, knows in what terms the Church expressed her sacrifice when she entered upon her second century, after the last Apostle had gone to his rest, which, on the whole, corresponds with the period when the celebration of the Lord's Supper was entirely separated from the meal, and became part of the early Morning Service. Justin Martyr says, in good Greek (which, I am sorry to say, even Bingham has misinterpreted), that the officiating elder uttered his thanksgiving as well as he could, that is to say, as far as the Spirit enabled him to do justice to the grand object, the Christian thanksgiving. The form of words inspired by the Spirit must have been various, and if the Spirit did not supply the offerer with such forms, the Lord's Prayer, as amplified in the Liturgy, must have been substituted, and silent prayer used instead of words. We know, however, if we know anything at all, that, as late as the fourth and fifth (yea, the sixth and seventh) centuries, the Communion Service was still considered merely as an act of thanksgiving of the congregation for their redemption, and not at all as a repetition of the sacrifice of atonement. Nothing was further from the thoughts of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries than the notion of a magical operation of

the Spirit on the material elements, the bread and wine.

And here is the inmost centre, the true mystery of the Christian worship.

The Communion itself, the second of these two outwardly visible acts, had grown into the symbolical meal of worship, as an early morning, or at least ante-prandial, solemnity; whereas, the proper meal, as a feast of brotherhood and love (agape), was celebrated at their evening meeting, partly in the Hall of Prayer itself, partly in private houses. This meal was, and remained, essentially a congregational meal, to which every person who had anything to bring offered his contribution.

Thus worship continued to be the main feature in the Service of the Believers, as instruction was the preparatory service, in which the Catechumens also took part. In both the congregation "built itself up" as the Temple of God: as an outward temple is necessarily constructed of single blocks, so is the congregation built up of single souls. This deep symbol, which pervades all the languages of Christian nations, is based upon expressions and exhortations of the Apostles, and springs from the deepest feeling of the peculiarity of Christian worship. There is no trace of it either in Judaism or Paganism.

The Supplication Prayer might be used in all parts of the service, and in the most ancient instances of its occurrence was sometimes used before, some-

times after, the consecration. Thanksgiving was mixed up with it, and thanksgiving was the conclusion of the celebration of Lord's Supper.

There is no doubt that the commemoration of the departed brethren had also in very early times a precatory clause, expressing a wish for their perfect happiness. But the prominent feature is that of thanksgiving and joy. This alone is expressed in the records of our age. Origen says: "It seems proper to thank the Saints in the solemn prayers of the Church, for this reason also, that we are benefited by the remembrance of them." We find, likewise, in a very ancient commentary on the Book of Job, attributed to him: "We cherish the pious remembrance of the Saints and of our relatives and friends who have departed in faith, as well from joy for their deliverance, as in order to pray that we too may have a blessed end." All this is mentioned and fully discussed in Bingham, in the passage quoted above.

But what we wish to impress here upon the Christian inquirer is, that nothing of all this is found in the most ancient formularies; and that not only the place and the expression were left free, but that none of these points formed part of the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the second century.

As to the details of this liturgical picture, we refer to the Introduction to the Liturgies of the second, third, and fourth centuries, in the Appendix to the last Volume.

II.

THE REFLEX.

I. *The Reflex of the Worship of the Eastern Church in the Mirror of the Apostolical Age.*

We are now going to exhibit the contrast and the analogy between the service of the Communion in the Apostolical age, and in the post-Nicene period.

The process of development which we have traced, respecting the consecration before prayer and the Christian sacrifice, is surprisingly confirmed by the very words in the extensive prayers of the Greek Church, as they became established and hallowed forms in the third and fourth centuries. The formularies of the second century were variously extended and amplified, and appear as fixed in the fourth century. We possess in Chrysostom's Homilies on the Liturgy of his Church authentic testimony in favour of their having had, towards the end of this century, in the principal Churches, substantially (although not identically) the same form which we find in the post-Nicene Alexandrian Liturgy, and in the oldest texts of the Constantinopolitan Liturgy, bearing the names of Basil and Chrysostom. It can

be proved that these Fathers were not its authors; it contains both later and earlier elements. Chrysostom treats the formularies of his age already as the word of the Church, as traditional. We exhibit in the Fourth Volume a Liturgy which belongs to the second century, and forms the connecting link between those formularies of the fourth century and the short formulas of the Churches of the Apostolic age, mixed up with free prayer, of which our Text-Book is intended to give the frame. The early Liturgies were not literary productions, but the prayers of godly men which sprang from Church life, and which had been used with favour and blessing. As the consciousness of the Church in regard to her sacrifice was obscured, people adhered more and more closely to the formulas which the great lights of the early ages, such as the two Fathers alluded to above, had used and perhaps here and there retouched. When the idea dies, formularies grow out of its grave like mushrooms.

Now, in all authentic Church formularies of prayers of consecration before the Communion, the words of that liturgical voice of the first century are echoed throughout: "May the Holy Ghost descend upon us, and purify us!"

The genuine words of consecration used in the fourth and fifth centuries at the celebration of the Lord's Supper contain, beyond all doubt, the development of the petition originally inserted into the Lord's

Prayer itself concerning the sending down of the Spirit for the sanctifying of the people. The development of the second petition was thus, in the first century, the utterance of that Christian and Apostolic idea. The fuller development of the thanksgiving and self-consecration took place in the free prayer, properly called the Prayer of Consecration. In this prayer a certain solemn phraseology or mode of expression for invoking the Spirit was considered as sanctioned by the usage of the Church: the rest was free as to expression and extent, but fixed as to object and general tenour. The words of the Institution may or may not have been added to that prayer. Then followed fixed written formularies; but in all of them the consecration means a prayer, to which the recital of those words forms the historical introduction. It was nothing but pure misunderstanding in the dark ages of barbarism, to see in consecration, not the consecrating prayers, but the historical quotation of the words of Institution. But it is not a less barbarous mistake, to suppose that the sacrifice of the ancient Church was that of the elements, whether before or after the words of consecration. The Evangelical and Apostolical idea of the true sacrifice was, for reasons amply explained, already obscured, when the liturgical formularies became fixed. Still, in spite of the accumulation of the expressions, and in spite of the oblation prayers and those which immediately precede and follow the Communion being

full of repetitions, the spiritual act of thankful self-sacrifice pervades all the Liturgies of the Eastern Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. It is this act, this vow, which is symbolized by the Offering, sealed by the Communion, and sanctified by the Remembrance of the sacrificial death of Christ. The Liturgy named after Chrysostom expresses the prayer explicitly as a vow.

The Supplication Prayer was also strictly an intercessory prayer for all members of the Church, both for the brethren who had fallen asleep, and for the Apostles and the mother of our Lord. The saying of Augustin (cited by Innocent III. as Scriptural), "It offends the Martyr if any one prays for the Martyr," is one of the bold paradoxes of the great African, which have led to innovations, and become turning points in the internal history of the Church. The ancient Christians had not a clear conception of the real meaning of the very indefinite word "for," the general sense of which in the earliest Liturgies is partly "in the name of," partly "with reference to." But the thanksgiving for the deliverance of the deceased, as the new Christian element, is still the prominent feature, when mention is made of those who have departed in peace (*in pace*). Independently of the Jewish custom, it was indeed very natural that the expression of hope in the eternal happiness of departed believers, and of the feeling of "the Communion of Saints" beyond the

limits of space and time, should be conjoined with this prayer; for, according to the views of the ancient Church, the souls of the departed had also a longing for the accomplishment of the number of the elect, and the complete triumph of the kingdom of God.

The connexion of this thanksgiving and this prayer in which mention was made of the departed with the celebration of the Eucharist, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was owing to the belief in the efficacy of the intercessory prayer of the Church, more especially when the believers celebrated the Holy Supper. This is stated by Cyril and Epiphanius. In the time of Prudentius, the cotemporary of the latter, the celebration of the Eucharist on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Hippolytus was regarded as a thanksgiving and bond of love, a strengthening of faith by looking up to those who had already finished their course. The idea of intercession for the souls of the departed, who were supposed to pass through a purifying fire, was first introduced by and after Augustin, and, in fact, in the Western Church.

II. *The Reflex of the Communion Service of the Gauls of Spain, of Milan, and of Africa.*

The Eastern Liturgies thus still preserve, on the whole, the character of a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving in the minds of the congregation; and the decay of the age in which they became fixed shows itself more

in the overgrowth of the ceremonial element, than in the corruption and change of that fundamental character.

That this was also the case, at least to a certain degree, in the ancient fixed Liturgies of the Gauls of Spain, of Africa, and even of Milan, is proved by the scanty genuine remains of their Sacramental Service. Our collection of Liturgies exhibits all these remains. They present, in the order of the Sacramental Prayers, the Greek type: particularly the Gallican and Mozarabic (of the Goths in Spain), which have the same origin, and in which, whatever is common to both may be safely considered, and in most cases can be proved to be, genuine. But the work of denationalizing the Churches of the West, particularly after Gregory the Great (who himself expresses more generous ideas in his truly Apostolic letter to Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury), began with the destruction of the canon, and the substitution of that of the Roman Church. This work of destruction has been most complete in the canon of the ritual of Milan, which, although called Ambrosian, is essentially that of the canon of Gregory. I believe I have shown that a great part of the ancient national consecration prayers still exists. But at all events we may say, that in the Liturgies of these Churches the character of Thanksgiving predominates: the precatory part is subordinate, the propitiatory idea of the rite excluded.

III. *The Reflex of the Communion Service of the Church of Rome.*

The case is different with the Sacramental Liturgy of Rome.

Whether we look to the text which Gregory the Great found, or to his own, or to the present official text, we find throughout, only in an increasing ratio, the character of the service changed from one preeminently thanksgiving to one of precatory prayers: the wish to propitiate becomes more and more predominant. Whoever compares this rite with that of the Greek Churches, will be struck by this immense difference; and any one who has studied the history of the religions of ancient Greece and Rome philosophically will agree with me, when I say that this difference is exactly of the same character as that which we discover in the doctrine and rites of the sacrifices of the ancient Romans and Hellenes. To propitiate God, and to make a covenant with him under the most cautious, binding, and solemn clauses and formularies, is the standing character of Roman religion. It certainly, therefore, cannot be considered a step in advance, that the Roman ritual became very early, in this decisive part, the general order of the West. The original national Liturgies of Gaul and Spain, and of Milan, were much nearer the Greek model. Still the predominance of the Roman formulary was not entirely

due to Carlovingian protection and Roman ingenuity and power. The Roman ritual had also its striking excellencies. The Gallican, Gothic, and Alemannic rituals are lengthy, full of rhetorical amplification and unnecessary details, often mere declamations; whereas the Roman formulary is distinguished, particularly in consequence of Gregory's judicious and, for the age in which he lived, tasteful reform, by that solemn conciseness which we admire in all the formularies of Roman antiquity. It was very natural, that classical terseness and metropolitan conciseness should prevail over provincial verbosity, of which St. Hilary's Prayer for the Dead furnishes a striking instance.

The Germanic mind, on the contrary, has always shown an irresistible affinity with the Hellenic mind, as well as with that spirit of filial thankfulness and gladness which is breathed in the Gospel and the Apostolic times.

IV. *The General Character of the Communion Services of the present Byzantine and Roman Churches.*

The solemn oblation, or act of offering of the people, originally formed the opening of the Communion Service: and was the real primitive offertory Subsequently, this real oblation ceased; but the public oblation prayer of the priest remained, as the beginning of the prayer of consecration. The offertory

became a mere sacerdotal prayer, accompanied by an antiphony sung by the choir. Subsequently, the old oblation prayer became a secret prayer of the priest, and the Offertory before the Preface was amplified into a very long offertorial service, referring only to the sacerdotal person about to offer the sacrifice. The priest had, indeed, become in the meantime the only acting person, and his recital of the words of Institution the culminating point, instead of the sacrifice of the worshippers. Thus the reality was more and more evanescent: the very idea of the Communion became a contradiction in terms: for, even if there was a communion of the people, it did not take place where it is marked in the service, but after the prescribed service was over.

It was very necessary, therefore, that many of the prayers of the fifth and sixth centuries should be read low, not aloud, for they had lost their meaning, and had become a mere form.

The Greek Church has retained the type which was imprinted in the fifth century, and has become petrified with and in it. Her canon of the Communion Service comes much nearer to the ancient Church than does the Roman one, especially from her retaining the Invocation of the Holy Spirit after the words of Institution, and thereby rendering it impossible for any but theologians to fall into the error of supposing that the consecration consisted in the historical repetition of the words of Institu-

tion instead of the prayer. She has, moreover, in spite of the predominance of the sacerdotal and vicarious element, so far faithfully maintained the principle that this solemnity is an act of the congregation, that she celebrates it in the language of the congregation; whereas the Roman Church has forced her Latin on all the western nations.

Lastly, also, the mention of the departed adheres closer to the spirit of the ancient Church; and masses for the dead, in the sense of the Roman Church, are unknown to her.

But, in the fifth century, it had ceased to be the custom for the congregation, when assembled for service, to receive the Communion; and the real oblation had ceased with it. The latter had now become, instead of a symbol of the internal sacrifice, a simulacrum of a symbol; consequently, a symbol of the offering of the elements by the people, which had disappeared or fallen into the background; consequently, of the body and blood of Christ also; and, consequently, of his propitiatory death: consequently, of the historical propitiatory sacrifice, not of the actual thank-offering of the communicating congregation. The Greek Church knows nothing of the dogma of Transubstantiation; but the Liturgy, and the whole Communion Service, may produce, upon the mind of a person who approaches them with that preconceived opinion, the impression that it originated in the same view.

The Liturgy of the Greek Church is just as stiff

and dead as the Roman is, and considerably longer besides. The Roman, when compared with the Greek and even the Ambrosian and Gallican rituals, appears to have been compiled from forms which had become obscure and unintelligible. Her canon was, also, in reality fixed much later in the fifth century, and definitively at the end of the sixth; and, of all the Western Churches, deviates the most from the original character. The real Consecration Prayer is omitted, and, on the other hand, the words of Institution are brought into a prominence entirely foreign to the sense of the ancient Church. It is true that the canon recognizes the character of the Celebration as an offering of praise and thanksgiving, but there is little praise and no thanksgiving. Great stress, on the other hand, is laid upon such forms as gradually drew off the consciousness of the Church from the People to the Elements, from the Thank-offering of the believers to the repetition of the Sacrifice of Atonement. Thus, also, the canon still implies the Communion of the congregation; but it had already become more of a formality, and since that time has grown into a mere form. The congregation never communicates at the Lord's Supper, but after the Communion Service is over, although the words of Gregory's canon require the contrary; and it is the same in the Greek Church. The whole celebration of the Roman mass is the act of the priest, who sacrifices the Lord's body, and thereby repeats the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ; not as

a custom which is misunderstood, or as a false interpretation of the words of the Liturgy, but as a doctrine.

Scholasticism has erected into dogma that perversion of the fundamental idea of sacrifice and priesthood, which had sprung up unnoticed out of the change of custom. It has established the displacement of the centre of consciousness as the real exclusive consciousness of the Church, out of which grew the Masses for the Dead, Purgatory, Indulgences, and all their cognate abuses, elevated into doctrines. This formative process is a development, connected in all its parts: but this connexion is that of a development which leads down, pathologically, from life to death; from the spirit to the misinterpreted letter; from essence to external form.

The first problem, then, was to restore the real sacrifice: the sacrifice of self, vowed by the worshippers in thankful love. The second problem was to restore the equilibrium between service and practice; ritualism and reality; vow of sacrifice and a domestic, social, and political life of real sacrifice. Did the Reformation solve the first problem? Did the Christian States understand the second? We have here to answer the first question.

V. *The Service of the Reformed Churches.*

When the Reformation led to the restoration of the Christian worship on the basis of the Evangelical and

Apostolical institutions, and when the service was consequently again performed in the language spoken by the people, the Lutheran Churches adopted, as a basis to be reformed, the Latin Mass; whereas Calvin regulated his services upon a system of abstract notions. The former were carried, against their will, into the conventionalism and errors of the Roman Church; and the scholasticising philosophy of Luther in his later period, and of the Lutheranizers, as to the elements, is based upon that medieval misunderstanding. Calvin, on the other hand, substituted for the historical form a Celto-Romanic abstraction. Thus the idea of sacrifice, as held by the ancient Church, the most important thought and divine work of Apostolical Christianity, did not come to new birth in either branch of the Reformed Churches. The ceremony retained its dignity in both, by virtue of the inward power of the Evangelical faith, and the strength of the ethic thought, as well as by the efficacy of the momentous act of redemption by Christ, on which the solemnity rests. In the Lutheran Church, the Spirit found an expression for the internal sacrifice in inspired hymns; whereas the Calvinists, under the influence of Bibliolatry, made the spirit of the Old Testament, as poured out in the Psalms, the expression of their praise and thankful worship in Christ, made the morning star the light of noon. In both Churches, however, the sermon, the doctrinal element, predominated so beyond all proportion, that

common prayer, as the act of the congregation, the popular element in the Church of the people, almost entirely disappeared.

The old conventionalism naturally died gradually away, but unfortunately only after the Protestants had made a fatal controversy about it among themselves, and had surrendered their interests, which were those of faith and of personal and political liberty, into the hands of the aggressive Papacy. The predominating didactic element, however, destroyed the Service, inasmuch as it made it tedious, so that it gradually appeared in the eyes of the upper classes as useless for them, unless rendered attractive by a display of rhetorical eloquence. The ceremony of the Lord's Supper stood as a ruin, kept up solely by the moral earnestness and internal efficacy of the religious consciousness of the worshippers. The historical idea of the Ecclesiastical year was set aside at the very outset by the Reformers, because they found it obscured by its connexion with the worship of Saints, and there was not reconstructive spirit enough in the age to restore it. By the Lutherans it was adopted, but merely as a tradition.

The English Church, in her Articles, started from Calvin's point of view; but her doctrinal theology was never so developed as to attract any attention in Europe: in her liturgical reformation she adopted the Lutheran method. The political instinct of the

people, however, seized hold of the idea inherent in the old forms, that the service is an act of the congregation. The Church of England restored the activity of which the medieval choir had deprived the people, and called upon them to speak, when they were unable to sing. It was only in cathedrals and abbeys that choral singing was retained, and the choristers sang what the people understood and had before them. Yet, as this liturgical restoration could not proceed from a leading reconstructive idea, and left no space for the action of the free element, it was neither organic nor catholic. Still less, in spite of the auspicious commencement, was the development an organic and catholic one. The service became more and more overcharged with peculiar, and in part wholly accidental, accumulations and repetitions. Nevertheless, as this Liturgy is the only product of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries deserving of any notice, and as it has attained, owing to its dignified character and the world-wide dominion of England, an unrivalled position and influence, it must be the centre of the reflex of the liturgical state of the Protestant Churches in the mirror of the ancient Church.

In so doing, we meet at once with a very serious loss in the natural elements of Christian devotion. The ancient Church recognizes three kinds of common prayer: silent prayer, free prayer, and here and there short forms sanctioned by custom, watch-

words, as it were, either for the minister alone, or for the clergy and the people jointly. The English Liturgy admits neither silent prayer nor free utterance in the service; the result of which is, that the two most spiritual forms, which are the natural complements of formularized prayer and exhortation, are excluded; and it is only in very rare exceptions that a choice is given between two formularies directed to the same object. The solemn pause in the service of ordination, immediately before the Veni Creator, is the only instance of that silent prayer which, in the ancient Church, is presupposed by every Collect, as the very name of Collect proves.

The ancient Church recognizes, moreover, together with the Psalms of the Old Testament, of which she made a free use, the psalms and hymns of the New Covenant, as the highest and most natural expression of the inspiration of the congregation. The English Church does not introduce into her service, ecclesiastically, as a part of the Liturgy, any sacred Christian hymns whatever. Translations of psalms in rhyme can never be anything but a good thing spoiled. The Psalms themselves she uses in succession, two or three, even four, without any interruption except by the *Gloria Patri.* Such a use is contrary to the wise canon of Laodicea, of the year 365 (Bingham, xiii. 5. 7.), and, what is more, contrary to the principle of the service. But the whole idea of singing every month the hundred and fifty

psalms, divided between the morning and evening services of the thirty or thirty-one days, is unspiritual. It is not adopted on principle, but simply taken from the existing practice of the clergy. At the bottom of this practice lies that unintellectual view which, in barbarous ignorance of their origin, considers the Psalms as a collection made (by king David, of course) for the service of the Church; whereas they state themselves to be five collections of ancient national and private hymns, destined only exceptionally for the Church service, hymns of all epochs, and from the days of Moses and David (whose songs are said to end with the 42nd Psalm) down to those of Ezra. The only hymns which were composed strictly for the Temple service are, with some few exceptions, those which date from after the Captivity. Now, if the reason of reading them so frequently during the service were, that they are a part of Scripture, not a word could be said against such a use of the whole Book of Psalms, especially if its contents and purport were properly explained to the people. But the singing of the congregation is meant to be the expression of the most inward feeling, the very feeling of adoration: and who will maintain that the Psalms, which were not originally composed for that purpose, are all of them adapted to being sung by a Christian congregation in the act of worship, simply because they are found in the Book of Psalms? Their repetition

every month, moreover, creates a uniformity which can be only tolerable from the force of habit, or the Roman idea of the *opus operatum*. Even the Greek and Roman Churches make no such call upon their congregations.

The Roman Church had, moreover, lost in the dark ages the antiphonal recitation, which the organism of the Psalms requires, every verse being divided into two hemistichs, which correspond to each other. This was changed into chanting by verses, a method purely arbitrary and spiritless, and, it may be said, contrary to Scripture; so that the second verse is considered as answering to the first (with which it is in no organic connexion), the fourth to the third, and so on. This defect has likewise been retained in the English Liturgy. Nor has another practice of the early Church, and of the Jews, been resorted to, that of the people repeating a striking hemistich, which expresses the leading thought of the whole composition; as, for instance, in the 118th Psalm (which Christ sang with the disciples after the last supper), the words, "His mercy endureth for ever."

The ancient Church had evidently a great variety in her Sunday service, which was sustained and held together by the unity of the type. The idea of the ecclesiastical year was to make the solar year the mirror of the revelation of God in the history of the world, of which the life of Christ formed the central point. Already in the ante-Nicene period

this idea was in some degree sketched out, and appears very strongly marked in Hippolytus' lists of lessons in his Paschal Cycle. Round that festival, and therefore round the vernal equinox, the whole year is ranged: backwards, the celebration of the death and sufferings of Christ, the Epiphany, and Christmas; forward, the feast of Pentecost, as being the epoch of the descent of the Spirit and inauguration of the Church. The Church in later times developed this idea, not organically and clearly, it is true, but yet significantly, by means of the Sunday Scripture-readings appropriated to the different festivals and seasons, and the selection of psalms, and verses of psalms, intermixed with proper hymns and odes. The English Church has adopted the ecclesiastical year, expunging, indeed, every thing which had any reference to the worship of saints, but omitting likewise every form expressing the peculiar character of the season of the ecclesiastical year, with the exception of some few appropriate portions of Scripture for the Sundays in Advent and the fast-days. The cycle of Bible-reading adopted by her, according to which the Old Testament (with a few omissions, and including the Apocrypha) is to be read completely through once every year, and the New, without any exception, three times, shows little regard for the ecclesiastical year and for the requirements of an intellectual and connected system of reading. Among the liturgical products

of the medieval Church of Rome, the ordinances for the Holy Week, concluding with Easter, occupy in every respect the first rank. They have even some very ancient elements in them. But in the English Liturgy the uniformity of the service is here only very slightly broken through: the ancient forms are thrown away, and the opportunity of making the people respond to the recital of the Passion, by appropriate verses of psalms and hymns inserted at the end of every section, is not thought of.

The morning and evening services suffer so much the more from this dangerous uniformity, because, as already remarked, the elements of silent and free prayer are excluded from them. It is customary, moreover, to combine, on Sundays, the Morning Prayer with the detailed and lengthened Litany (a most beautiful and impressive prayer in itself), and both of them with the Communion service: that is to say, to make three ordinances, which are entirely distinct in themselves, into one, having no organic connexion, and abounding in repetitions.

The ancient Church had not, in the age of Hippolytus, admitted into the general service itself that Creed which was professed by candidates for baptism. This was done, however, by the Church of the succeeding centuries. The English Church uses that Creed on all occasions at morning and evening service, immediately after the reading of the New Testament, as a congregational act, the officiating

minister leading, and the congregation repeating after him each separate sentence of it. On the three great festivals, and the festivals of the Apostles, the formulary of the later Trinitarian schoolmen, commonly, that is, falsely, called by the name of Athanasius, is substituted; a form never known in the East, and in the West only introduced into the choral morning service intended exclusively for the clergy. It is certainly in every respect infinitely less adapted to be recited by the whole congregation than the Nicene Creed. In the present Liturgy, the morning and evening services commence with a fixed form of confession, composed by Bucer, in itself very dignified, but too stiff, and, with the exception of a choice in the introductory sentences, uniform throughout; whereas the old Introit (although itself the wreck of an ancient rite, and the simulacrum of the Entrance of the Gospel) offered a variety of words and of thought. The service of confession is followed by the reading of the Psalms, preceded by two responsive sentences. The Lord's Prayer (with which the first book, according to medieval custom, awkwardly commenced) forms the connecting link between the act of confession and the psalmody.

The most vital element which the English Church (as early as 1549) has retained in this daily service is the old responsive sentences, repeated alternately by the priest and congregation after the Creed.

They constitute a short intercessory prayer comprised in collects, the greater part of which is also old. These collects are a genuine Roman form, which suits particularly the turn of the English mind.

The Liturgy, as a whole, is dignified throughout, although it cannot be pronounced to be organic in itself, nor adapted for general use in Christendom, still less for domestic use. We must, however, from our point of view, consider the fact, that a Book of Common Prayer has become a national institution, as more important than all defects, and even all excellencies, of detail. It is of all Church ordinances, since the Reformation, the most important. It was a great and a blessed thought, this placing in the hands of a Christian nation a book impressing evangelical truths, not by abstract theological formulas, but by an act of worship and edification, and in language intelligible to the congregation. Such a book alone was capable of becoming a Church- and House-Book, and such it has become. It is in itself as valuable as the Text-Book of the ancient Church, the fragments of which we have endeavoured to restore, and in many points infinitely superior to it; although, alas! less free, and breathing less of faith in that Christian Spirit which inspires the praying or teaching speaker. No Church in Christendom has yet carried out those liturgical ideas with the same dignity and completeness. The German

Churches have, to this day, produced only clerical liturgies and regulations, and even the liturgical reform of Frederic William the Third has not gone beyond that. The Order of Prayers (Agenda) is a book for the clergy, and placed only in their hands. The Hymn-books, as well as almost everything that is good since the time of Luther, the German congregations have been obliged to work out for themselves, amid bloody struggles, with all the disadvantages of isolation, and mostly under despotic forms of government.

The most important portion of the great historical work of the English Church, however, still remains to be noticed, the Sunday Communion Service. She has here, from the very beginning, struck out a deep thought, and undertaken the solution of one of the greatest problems of the Reformation. It is from this elevated point of view, that we must consider the history of the Communion Service in particular, as a prominent part in a universal history of the human mind during the last three centuries. It is not merely that the Liturgy of the Communion is important, on account of its very close connexion with the political and civil wars of the seventeenth century, and because it has also since that time led to the most momentous theological controversies and schisms in the Church. Nor does its chief importance consist even in this, that it contains the most valuable ore of original English theology;

nor in the fact, that the Book of Common Prayer and the Communion Service in particular, its most intellectual part and its most blessed, has done as much towards uniting the antagonistic elements in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as the dogmatic controversial writings, formulas of concord, and attempts at union projected by the theologians of the Continent, have done to divide the two Confessions, and to perpetuate their scholastic disputes. Its highest importance consists in this, that the Church of England has attacked, with seriousness and piety, what has been to this hour the one of the two great problems of the Reformation. By this we mean the restoration of the real Christian idea of sacrifice in its entire ethical and speculative significance, and its realization in its true domain. For it is only by both common prayer and Christian life being formed into an organic congregational action, that an understanding can be brought about between the contending parties, and the hope indulged of a living progressive development of Christianity and of Christian civilization throughout Europe and through the world. We shall, therefore, have to examine that grand national undertaking more closely in the reflex of our picture, and the rather because, although many meritorious works upon the subject of the English Liturgy (Note D.) exist, its history has not yet been written from a general point of view.

1. *The First Communion-Book of Edward VI.*

This work of Cranmer, Ridley, and their friends, as Royal Commissioners, presents the following order. The preparatory service begins with the ancient Introduction, or Introit: instead of single verses of Psalms, a whole Psalm was to be sung; then the old Kyrie Eleison (Lord have mercy upon us), with the Gloria (the old Morning Hymn after the Latin form). The Epistle and Gospel are preceded, according to the Roman custom, by the Collect for the day, after which one for the King is inserted, followed by the Nicene Creed (not used at Rome before 1014). After the sermon or homily follows an Exhortation to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, now about to be celebrated. The minister is instructed to use it only when the sermon had not anticipated it. This Exhortation, which begins with the words,

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider . . . ."

ends with an injunction to thankful self-sacrifice, as the proper sacrifice of Christians:

"To Him (Christ) therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give, as we are most bounden, continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to

His holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve Him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life."

If there be no communicants, instead of this exhortation another is appointed to be read, in which notice is given that the Lord's Supper will be celebrated on the following Sunday or Holiday, and the congregation are invited to partake of it.

Immediately after the sermon, or after one of these exhortations has been read, the Offertory begins, accompanied by a collection for the poor. While this is going on, one or more sentences from the Bible, which enjoin charity or almsgiving, are read or sung. After this the non-communicants withdraw: the communicants take their places in the choir. Here, then, commences the real Communion Service. The parts of it are as follows:

I. The Preface, with the "Holy, Holy, Holy" (out of the Latin Missal).

II. The general Intercessory Prayer: "Almighty and everlasting God, who by Thy Holy Apostle hast taught us . . . ."

Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church: essentially the same as the present one, but with the following remarkable words added at the end, referring to the dead:

"We commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and

everlasting peace; and that at the day of the general resurrection we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

This is a remarkable attempt to reform the medieval intercessory Prayer for the Dead on an evangelical basis. It bears a close resemblance to the corresponding prayer of the third century in the Church of Alexandria, which I have restored in my Reliquiæ Liturgicæ.

III. Consecration Prayer (Consecration of the Elements immediately before the words of Institution): "O God, Heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercy didst give . . . ."

"Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and *with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these Thy Gifts and Creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ,* who in the same night," &c. (during the utterance of which words the Priest takes the bread and the cup in his hands).

IV. Sacrificial Prayer (Oblation) as continuation:

"Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father . . . we make here before Thy Divine Majesty *with these Thy Holy gifts the memorial* which Thy Son hath willed us to make . . . . entirely desiring Thy fatherly

goodness mercifully *to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that . . . we may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. *And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourself, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee:* humbly beseeching Thee that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion *may . . . . be made one body with Thy Son Jesu Christ, that He may dwell in them and they in Him.* Amen."

V. The Lord's Prayer. "As our Lord and Saviour hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say: Our Father," &c. (without the Doxology).

VI. The act of Confession: Salutation of Peace. Introductory sentences by the choir. Thanksgiving for Christ's Sin-Offering. Exhortation to Confession of Sins. Absolution. Sentences from the Gospel inviting to the Communion.

VII. Concluding Collect before administering the Elements:

"We do not presume to come to this Thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under Thy table. But Thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His blood, in these holy mysteries, that we may continually dwell in Him, and He in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood. Amen."

VIII. Administration of the Lord's Supper, after the priest has first received it himself, in both kinds.

We remark that the authors, while carefully omitting everything opposed to the pure doctrine, show a scrupulous anxiety not to lose any one of the elements or forms of the ancient Church which might be retained. The prayer in which the dead are mentioned is still a prayer *for* the dead, but in the sense of the Hippolytan age, and with an attempt at an evangelical development. In the Consecration Prayer the Liturgy has not yet been able to free itself entirely from the Elements. The Blessing through the Spirit and the Word (namely, through the words of Institution) is invoked upon the prayer, not upon the congregation; whereas the Apostolical Church prayed originally for the blessing only upon the congregation, to which subsequently was added a blessing for the gifts; just as in baptism the Spirit was invoked to sanctify the water for the sanctification of the Catechumens. The idea of Consecration, however, was not merely retained as a prayer, in contradistinction to the erroneous notion of the Lutheran Church, but a really spiritual sacrificial prayer was added, which is, to this hour, the best and most complete ecclesiastical expression of the true Christian sacrifice of Self. This prayer is the most important part of the whole Liturgy. Its contents are derived directly from the fundamental thought of the Reformation. It is a realization of the doctrine of Justification in the form of a vow, as the type of the sacrifice of love in the life of the Christian. The conception is

as appropriate as it is dignified. Our former remarks have shown how such a thought alone explains the act of the earliest Church, and the consciousness of the earliest Fathers in respect to it. No one who enters into the whole spirit of Palmer's Church views can wonder that that learned man should not have acknowledged this originality; indeed, he has thrown that most important prayer rather into the background, because he does not find a warrant for it in ancient rituals. This is very natural. For all he aims at is to find what he thinks canonical authority for the formularies and articles of his own Church in the post-Nicene, and, if possible, in that of the middle ages. He refers the English formularies to those real or supposed precedents, which are, in his opinion, models. Everything new, however Christian and Scriptural, he considers as a deviation, which he laments as a defect, and thinks himself bound to justify, or rather to excuse, although he usually denies that there is any. Such a proceeding seems unwarranted either by historical or philosophical criticism. It is painful, however, to find the following remark in a German critic like Daniel, who in other places does not conceal his noble indignation at Palmer's proceeding. When offering a judgment upon the Collect of Thanksgiving in the present Prayer-book, which is borrowed from this passage, he says that its contents (*singula*) are taken from the private prayer of the priest in the Roman mass after

the congregation are dismissed: "Placeat, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meæ, et præsta ut sacrificium quod oculis tuæ majestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihique et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli sit, te miserante, propitiabile."

It is needless to remark, that the place assigned in this older Liturgy of King Edward to that expression of sacrifice is in every respect the correct one. This is the place for the highest realization of the act of sacrifice announced by the Preface. The Sacrifice immediately precedes the Communion, the Lord's Prayer forming the connecting link: for the Lord's Supper is the holy act of faith which seals the renewed vow of thankful love.

We may, on the other hand, entertain a doubt whether the position assigned to the act of confession, at the head of the real Communion, is the proper one. The ancient Church took care not to disturb the expression of highest thankfulness and praise by exhortation to repentance, and by the whole act of confession. This act constituted, in one form or other, a portion of the Preparatory Service: a later custom of the Lutheran Church connects it directly with the sermon. If we choose, however, to consider it as a necessary preparation for partaking of the Lord's Supper, an especial preparatory service of confession would seem better suited to that purpose. In this place it comes too late for an introductory internal self-examination, and is disturbing as a liturgical form.

This blessed work of the two martyrs of the Gospel was the first step taken by the English Church to make the Service, instead of an *opus operatum* of the clergy, once more the act of the congregation, and to establish upon it the Christian Sacrifice stripped of its Levitical disguise.

It did not, however, fully satisfy the feelings of Protestants, who by persecution and bitter controversy were excited to opposition and distrust, and who were so deeply offended with some too medieval forms and expressions which were still retained, that they rejected and repudiated them as suspicious, even in such a purified form.

2. *The Second Book of Edward VI.*, 1552.

Thus, then, under the advice of the German Bucer (who composed the Introduction to the daily Morning and Evening Services), and of the Florentine Peter Martyr, the Book of Common Prayer was rewritten, as early as in 1552; and, with it, the Order of the Communion in the first book set aside. This reconstruction is very important, and, together with the not very considerable alterations which were subsequently made in 1559 and 1604, and especially at the Restoration (1662), forms the present English Liturgy. We shall give a complete analysis of it when we arrive at the period of 1662.

In the Second Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., according to the precedent of the Genevan Church, the decalogue is placed at the head of the Communion Service, and a long and tedious, because too frequent, didactic reading is very sensibly converted into a congregational act by the short response of the people, in the form of a prayer, after each commandment. In the Intercessory Prayer the petition for the dead is omitted, and a Thanksgiving substituted for it. In like manner, the medieval consecration of the elements is changed into a petition for a blessing on the communicants. All these are palpable improvements. But from a dread of a false view of Sacrifice creeping in, some most beautiful, most important, and most universal portions of the ancient Communion Service are here omitted, and the idea of the Christian Sacrifice is simply expressed as a voluntary appendix, namely, as a collect, following the Communion (post-communio), which may be used instead of the ordinary collect of Thanksgiving borrowed from the Latin Ritual. And so strange are the changes in the human mind upon religious subjects, so long as the matter is not brought fully home to the general Christian feeling, that this second collect, at that time an ultra-Protestant one (because it had no reference to sacrifice), has again become, in our time, the favourite collect of those who estimate the value of a liturgical form by its being found in the Rituals of the medieval Church.

3. *Laud's Communion Liturgy for Scotland.*

The reconstruction of the Liturgy in a Protestant sense was very far from satisfying the Presbyterian party among the clergy. As early as the time of James I., the reaction which began to show its face in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and which was secretly encouraged by her, was publicly avowed, and strove openly for the mastery, under the favour of a monarch equally narrow-minded as a composer of a Liturgy, as he was pitiful as a king. James I., who wished, for political reasons, to make Scotland episcopal, had planned the introduction of the English Liturgy into that country. Laud, however, and his friends in Scotland, thought they could make use of this scheme to further their views of bringing the Scottish Liturgy back to the medieval, by means of the English. Such was the origin, after long secret preparation, of the Communion Liturgy which was intended for Scotland, and which, in 1637, Charles I., by force of the royal prerogative, "after hearing the clergy," endeavoured to force upon the people. It is well known that it was the cause of the outbreak, and one of the causes of the rebellion which brought the archbishop, and afterwards the king himself, to the scaffold. As it forms the basis of the present Communion Liturgy of the Episcopal Church of Scotland,

and, in part, of that of the United States, and as it is the expression of an ecclesiastical view which now again strives for the ascendency, we subjoin a complete synopsis of its contents from the unaltered original version.

After the Commandments (which were left untouched), the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, the Nicene Creed, and the Sermon, the real Communion Service followed.

A. The Offertory, reconstructed into a symbolical sacrificial office. It begins with sacrificial sentences: from the Sacrifice of Abel (Gen. xiv. 3—5.); from the Levitical Sacrifice (Ex. xxv. 2.; Numb. xvi. 16.); from David's Thanksgiving at the consecration of the gifts for the building of the Temple (1 Chron. xxix. 10, 11, 12. 14. 17.; the words of ver. 14. became liturgical at an early period, and are here applied with spirited freedom: "Of Thine own do we give unto Thee"); closing with the verse of Psalm xcvi. 8.: "Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His name: bring an offering, and come into His courts."

The sentences applying to almsgiving in the English Liturgy (see above, I.) then follow immediately after these sacrificial sentences.

When these are ended, the priest takes into his hands the basin, which is presented to him, containing the alms, places it upon the altar, and orders the bread and wine for the Communion.

B. General Intercessory Prayer (Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here on earth, see above, II.). Instead of the Prayer for the Dead, the following is here introduced:

"And we also bless Thy holy name for all those Thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints who have been the choice vessels of Thy grace, and the lights of the world, in their several generations: Most humbly beseeching Thee that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in Thy faith, and obedience to Thy holy commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they," &c. (as above).

C. After the Intercessory Prayer, an exhortation is enjoined to be read from time to time, either inviting communicants to the Lord's Supper, or warning them against the unworthy receiving of it, revisions of the formularies of the First Book of Edward VI. There is prescribed, however, for every holiday (after the non-communicants have withdrawn), an Admonition to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper: "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come ...." (as in both the Books of Edward VI.).

D. Acts of Confession, Invitation, Creed, Absolution, Sentences (according to the form in the Second Book of Edward VI., see above, VII.).

E. Preface with "Holy, Holy, Holy" (see above, I.).

F. Consecration Prayer (see above, III.), an intermediate form between the First and Second Books of Edward VI.: "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercies .... Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and of Thy Almighty goodness *vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly*

beloved Son; so that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of the same His most precious body and blood, who in the night," &c.

G. Prayer of Oblation: "Wherefore, O Lord our Heavenly Father," &c., word for word as in the First Book (see above, IV.); only that in the offering of the Oblation, after the words, "with these Thy Holy Gifts," the following are added: "*which we now offer unto Thee.*"

H. The Lord's Prayer (see above, V.).

I. Concluding Prayer: "We do not presume," &c. (see above, VII.).

It is obvious that the older form is deliberately adopted, and here and there rendered more complete; in the Offertory, for instance; but every thing in a reactionary sense. Instead of expressing more strongly the spiritual sacrifice, for that was the problem which the sixteenth century undertook, but did not entirely succeed in solving, the Levitical one, on the contrary, is here, and in the Consecration and Oblation, more strongly marked; with a decided tendency towards the medieval idea of the eucharistic sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Here also the blessing "through the Word and the Spirit" is prayed for; so that the power of the Word is brought more prominently forward: and it cannot be denied that by the "Word" we are not

to understand the creative Word of God, the Word in the highest sense, but the words of Institution: "This is my body." By this the expression of self-sacrifice, which is retained here from the First Book of Edward VI., is entirely thrown into the background: it is a reaction to Levitical forms, under the delusion or pretext of an Apostolical restoration.

The Protestant feeling of the people against Laud's Liturgy was therefore a very correct one, and a real voice of God. There was concealed behind the Liturgical archaism a theology which, if carried out consistently, must have led back to Romanism. There was besides a sacerdotal pretension, which made the priest who was qualified by episcopal succession and episcopal consecration (as the exclusive vehicle of sacramental grace which is necessary to salvation) to be the lord of the conscience and the dispenser of salvation. As regards the learning of Laud, and his older and more modern spiritual brethren, it is exactly on a footing with his knowledge of Christian architecture, by virtue of which he enjoined that the altar should be everywhere placed at the end of the apse (the position of the old cathedra) in honour of antiquity and tradition. It is a spiritless knowledge of medieval traditions arbitrarily preferred to really ancient Christianity, and a conventional scholasticism irreconcilable with historical and philosophical criticism. The most innocent form is a poor provincial anti-

quarianism, the only effect of which can be to disturb the conscience, and impede the light of a living future.

4. *The present established Communion Service of the Church of England*, 1559, 1604, *and* 1662.

After the points of contrast between the old and new Liturgies, as well as between such formularies and free prayer and speech, had been, in the course of the seventeenth century, variously combated by both parties, for the most part with one-sided arguments, but with great zeal and animosity, the National Liturgy took its present form, in its essential points, at the Restoration (1662), after the Savoy Conference, the results of which were unsatisfactory. It subsequently was to undergo a final revision under William III. in 1689; but the proposals of the Royal Commissioners not receiving the assent of Convocation, they were accordingly dropped. This was the last attempt at a definitive settlement of the Liturgy.

The order, compared with the more ancient, is as follows. After the Sermon, in conformity with the natural interpretation of the rubric, the Offertory always follows: sentences which enjoin charity and almsgiving being read during the collection of alms.

But if there are no communicants, it is doubtful whether the General Prayer of the Church is not to be omitted. The rubric is very ambiguous, and the ordinary practice, at least of the last 150 years, is so strongly in favour of that interpretation, that even the Offertory is left out when there are no communicants, the Service concluding with the Sermon and one of the Collects annexed, expressive of the blessing attached to the hearing of the Word of God. If notice is to be given for the following Sunday of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, it is to be done at that time by means of an exhortation borrowed entirely from the earlier Liturgy.

But the omission of the Offertory, so clearly prescribed, proves that this custom is the natural, but very much to be regretted, consequence of the Morning Service having been made practically (with the Liturgy) the first part of the Communion Service. People found the Service too long, and thus mutilated the most important concluding part. By this practice the ordinary Sunday Service is deprived of the Act of Petition and Thanksgiving, for which the congregation was to be "built up" by the foregoing Service. The ordinary Service, without Communion, is already shorn of the Preface, which, nevertheless, has nothing whatever to do with the Communion as such, being the introduction to the Act of Thanksgiving. But by that custom it loses the act of Prayer itself, of which the Offertory was to be only the symbol. The

General Church Prayer is indeed prescribed for this part of the Service in all the ordinances, from the earliest down to those of the Protestant Churches, with the single exception of the Prussian Liturgy of 1821. Thus the whole organization of the Service, typically fixed from the most primitive times, would be destroyed if that interpretation were the true one. It is impossible to ascribe such thoughtlessness to the framers of the Liturgy. Besides, it is asserted, that in some cathedrals and university chapels the custom of saying that General Prayer with the Offertory every Sunday has always been maintained, and it is a fact that in the Chapel Royal at St. James's both have been constantly used; and this seems to decide the question against the ordinary practice.

In that beautiful General Intercessory Prayer (Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth) which begins with the words,

"Almighty and everliving God, who, by Thy Holy Apostle hast taught...."

the mention of those who have departed in faith, which was altogether omitted in 1552, is restored, but without any Intercession, perfectly free from the possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Its dignified words are as follows:

"And we also bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear: beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their

good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

If we turn to the Gospel and the ancient Church, we shall see clearly that this prayer might have been strengthened without any danger, and with considerable effect, by adding the thought now embodied in a collect of the Funeral Service, after the Thanksgiving for the blessed departure of a deceased brother:

" Beseeching Thee that it may please Thee of Thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of Thy elect, and to hasten Thy kingdom. . . . . "

The Act of Confession corresponding essentially with No. VI. of the earlier Service.

The Preface, with the " Holy ; " its position being altered here from No. I. in the earlier Service.

Concluding Prayer before the Consecration (" We do not presume," &c.): word for word, the concluding Prayer, No. VII. of the older Version, before the distribution of the elements.

Consecration Prayer (see above, III.). Here, in the principal passage, the petition for blessing is very properly transferred altogether from the elements to the communicants, and the equivocal words " with Thy Holy Spirit and Word " are also omitted :

" Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and grant *that we*, receiving these Thy crea-

> tures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His most blessed body and blood, who in the same night," &c. &c.

After this the clergy receive the sacrament and administer it to the congregation.

If we hold this Service up to the mirror of the ancient Church, it is impossible not to recognize its great Christian wisdom, both in that part of it which is borrowed from the ancient Church, and that which is new. It is equally impossible, however, to disguise from ourselves the fact that the problem which offered itself to the consideration of the Church in the sixteenth century is not solved. The organization of the ancient sacrifice is lost, and that adopted for the new sacrifice is less completely developed than it was in the Liturgy of 1549.

The history of the Communion Service, and of the Liturgy generally, ceases, as far as England is concerned, with the year 1662. But, when considered from a general Christian point of view, the development of this most remarkable, and, after the Bible, most widely circulated and most national book upon earth, has by no means ceased. The whole received a thorough reform in the Episcopal Church of the United States, which has found its way through the vast body of the New Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Now this reform is, in the Communion Service, considerably influenced by the

Communion Liturgy of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, which was drawn up after the middle of the last century. We therefore must consider first this remarkable phase of the history of that Liturgy.

5. *The present Communion Service of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.*

After the Scotch Liturgy imposed by Charles I. in 1636 had been developed by the influence of the Non-Jurors, after 1689, more and more according to the medieval type (evidence of which is found in the editions of 1724, 1743, and 1755, which I have before me), all at once there appears, in the edition of 1764, a second and more decided thorough revision of the Communion Service in the spirit of Laud. Those bishops who, after the expulsion of James II., refused to take the oath of allegiance to king William III. and his consort, put themselves as Non-Jurors at the head of a reaction, and their successors in Scotland, had full liberty of action in a Sacerdotal Church abandoned by the nation. Just as Laud had used Scotland as a lever for the Catholicising reaction against the Protestantized Liturgy of 1552, so did that party make use of the Episcopal Church in Scotland against the confirmation and reinforcement of Protestant principles in 1689. That revision is to be considered as the last product of that spirit of

the seventeenth century, which has in our days been re-awakened by a very considerable portion of the Anglican clergy. It starts from that mistaken idea of Sacrifice in the Communion, which we have pointed out as being a corruption of the Christian views of the first three centuries. But it merits consideration as an attempt carried out consistently, with great erudition and liturgical skill, albeit in a one-sided spirit, to solve a still unsettled problem. It was sanctioned in 1811 and 1838 for solemn occasions. The most important part of it, moreover, has been adopted in the Episcopal Church of the United States. Its peculiarity will be seen by the following comparison with Laud's Liturgy:

After the Sermon:

A. Admonition: "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion," &c. Out of the First Book of Edward I., where it may nevertheless be omitted by the clergyman (Laud, A.).

B. Offertory (compare Laud, B.: but much more developed). It begins with the Invocation to Sacrifice: "Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear, ..."

Then follow the Sacrificial Sentences from Laud.

The priest places upon the altar the basin with the collection which has been made in the meantime, during which he utters a thanksgiving to God, borrowed from the Prayer of David and the Greek Liturgies (to express the sacrifice of the Thanksgiving), and generally consisting of verses of Psalms:

"Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever: Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and

the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heavens and the earth is Thine: Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and Thou art exalted as Head above all: both riches and honour come of Thee, *and of Thy own do we give unto Thee. Amen.*"

C. The Preface with "Holy . . ." (like Laud, E.).

D. The Consecration Prayer is exactly like those in Laud and First Edward VI., and the new English one, except that the whole passage in the middle about the Sacrifice is omitted, in which the old and new formularies differ. The beginning only is somewhat altered, out of fondness for the Greek models. Instead of "Almighty God, who of Thy tender mercy," &c., it says: "All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, for that Thou, of Thy tender mercy," &c.

E. The Oblation with the Invocation agrees in its beginning and end with Laud, G.; but in the middle the important passage of the old Consecration Prayer, transcribed above, is inserted, which was omitted in the new Consecration Prayer. The whole, therefore, runs thus:

"Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, . . . we . . . make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, *which we now offer unto Thee*, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion. . . . ."

"And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become" (here are omitted the words "*unto us*," which Laud retained,) "the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son. . ."

"And we earnestly desire Thy fatherly goodness

mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, &c." (as above) .... *Amen.*

F. "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church." (Exactly like Laud, C.)

G. The Lord's Prayer (Laud, H.).

H. Act of Confession (Laud, D.).

I. Concluding Collect (Laud, I.). The administration of the Sacrament follows.

So far, then, everything tended, by what appeared to some hierarchical politicians, and many pious, but weak-headed and half-learned priests, a conservative development, to bring back the service of the English people, in the "Free" Episcopal Church of Scotland, to the old Levitical Sacrifice. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was nothing more than a logical scholastic consequence of such a Liturgy. It is true that the service was still performed in the language of the people, and that the hierarchs inveighed against Rome. But this cannot alter the spirit of the Liturgy. It would be a delusion, were we to endeavour to explain this reaction, which is very important although it never obtained universal adoption, as based upon mere personal and transient motives and influences. Its origin lies much deeper. Neither does it consist merely in the hierarchical efforts to make use of the Liturgy in order to restore sacerdotal power. It consists essentially and permanently in this, that the problem of the Reformation, in this domain likewise, is not yet conclusively solved. The singular phenomenon, that

exactly at the end of a hundred years this very same sacrificial portion of the Non-Jurors' Liturgy should be inserted, by the founders of the "Free" Episcopal Church in the United States, into what is otherwise, in many respects, a progressive step in the development of the English Liturgy, is a proof that the erroneous portion of the fundamental idea of elementary sacrifice can only be overcome and eradicated by the full recognition and expression of the true spiritual sacrifice. We must here not forget that the liturgical question in England was in 1662 carried by a violent reaction, and in 1689 dropped, but never solved.

6. *The Liturgy of the Episcopal Church of the United States*, 1789.

One of the distinguished heads of the Episcopal Church in the United States, the late bishop Seabury, had something of this feeling, when he and bishop White, and their friends, resolved upon a reform of their Church, both in constitution and in Liturgy, after the War of Independence.

That Liturgy, as definitively settled since 1789, is a very sparing, and not altogether free, though very important improvement upon the English one. The use of the Psalms is rendered more tolerable, by a selection made with the direct aim of expressing the feelings of worship of a Christian congrega-

tion. The great want of Christian hymns has been remedied by an ecclesiastical collection, which has gradually become considerable; as indeed it never should fail to form an integral part of the Church-Book. As to the Communion Liturgy, its most striking feature, particularly when we consider the political spirit of the United States, and the period in which that Liturgy was established, is a return to the older form of the English service, and an attempt to make a fusion of the First Book of Edward VI., and its hierarchical revision in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the Second more decidedly Protestant one, and the improvements made in it in 1662 and proposed in 1689.

The following comparative survey will illustrate the nature of this connexion.

In the preparatory portion of the Sunday Service, it must be mentioned to the credit of its compilers, that Christ's epitome of the commandments is added to the decalogue.

After the Sermon there follows:
The Offertory, unaltered.
The Prayer for all conditions of the Church militant.
When there is no Communion the Service ends here: if the Communion is to be administered the following Sunday, the clergyman may read the whole or part of one of the two formularies of exhortation borrowed from the English Liturgy.
The Act of Confession: precisely as in the English Liturgy.

The concluding Collect: the same.

The Consecration Prayer: the form of the present English Liturgy, omitting the above-cited passage, which contains the petition for blessing upon the communicants, instead of the old invocation of blessing on the elements. On the other hand there is a new addition of

The Oblation Prayer, out of the First Book of Edward VI. (see above, V.), with the insertion of the Invocation contained in the old Consecration Prayer as given above. In this the petition for the blessing on the elements is borrowed from the First Book, and the one for the blessing on the communicants from the Second. To this is annexed the spiritual Oblation Prayer, which, in the new English Liturgy, is transferred to the Post-Communio. The result of the patchwork is (with a little grammatical inaccuracy) the following remarkable prayer:

"Wherefore, O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, Thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection and glorious ascension: rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same: and we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving

The Oblation.

The Invocation.

them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood. And we earnestly desire Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we, and all Thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee; humbly beseeching Thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with Him, that He may dwell in them (us), and they (we) in Him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen."

Summary of the Results of the Protestant Measures for amending the Liturgy and restoring the Christian Sacrifice.

If we cast our eyes, in the first place, on the English Church, she will strike us at once as being

marked by two grand ideas, which render her conspicuous above all other Churches. The first of these we may express thus. Her object was to place in the hands of the people a national devotional book, which should elevate the religious service from being the peculiar work and business of the clergy, into an object of the religious consciousness of the nation, and place the form of common worship out of the reach of the caprice of any individual minister. The second we may define thus. Her object was to restore the idea of the Christian Sacrifice, as being the highest spiritual act of the individual and congregation before God, and, with the sacrament, the fundamental idea of the whole religious worship.

These two ideas evidently have not been thoroughly carried out, and are far from having obtained complete success. The causes of this relative failure are partly internal, partly external, defects. We have recognized in the mirror of the ancient Church, that the English Liturgy is deficient in several elements, but especially in those of free and silent prayer. This want of freedom attaches to it in part from the condition out of which the Church then arose; in part from a certain degree of hesitation or indifference which is as characteristic of the English mind in ecclesiastical affairs, as it is foreign to it in political concerns. But this internal explanation of that fact is not sufficient to account for the whole. Neither is it fully accounted for by bearing in mind

the vast difficulties which stood in the way of a positive creation of a new constructive form in the sixteenth century. It is a great delusion, voluntary or involuntary, to treat the rubrics like passages in a law-book, and to speculate constantly upon the reason for exactly choosing such and such a word or formulary. No such systematic plan has ever existed, either in the German Lutheran, or the English reformed Liturgy; and single words must therefore be interpreted, when the expressions are ambiguous, historically; in particular by the fundamental ideas from which the fathers of the English Church started, and about which their own writings leave no question of doubt. The Church imposes dogmatical definitions, according to universally received principles, by articles of religion, which of course must be interpreted in their natural and historical sense. The Liturgy is made for devotion, and not for definitions; its aim is to reconcile and soften down contending abstractions, not to introduce surreptitiously condemned principles. The rubrics are vague and contradictory. Those fathers acted on one principle only, namely, that of excluding everything which did not harmonize with evangelical consciousness, and of retaining as much of the rest as possible. Here and there they unsuspectingly adopted the existing formularies, merely because they found them. The origin of the medieval service was at that time involved in obscurity. The

Greek Liturgy was as good as unknown. Ignorance as to the idea and gradual corruption of the notion of Sacrifice in the service was general. From a reconstructive work of reformation, undertaken from such an imperfect point of view, a very satisfactory provisional result may be obtained, and as to details something permanently exemplary may arise. It cannot, however, be expected that the whole should be organic, and attain catholic (universal) excellence.

But all this, as we have said, only accounts for the imperfection of the first attempt, not for the want of a definitive development. We must here consider how, at a very early period, especially in England, Reformed ideas were tinged with the feeling of opposition to everything medieval, which will account for many peculiarities in the Second Book of Edward VI. But, secondly (and this is the main point), we must remember that a catholicizing reaction very shortly afterwards arose, indeed already in the time of Elizabeth. This reaction was essentially that of a hierarchical corporation, and opposed to the Evangelical feeling of the people. The organic development of the Liturgy is evidently repressed by the change which, in consequence of the preponderance of that element, gradually predominated in the whole religious consciousness of the nation, as far as it was connected with the Church. The national element grew eminently into an element of

government; the National Church into a State Church. The Church feeling remained rather a clerical concern, than became a national one; in consequence of which the laity (or the whole nation except the clergy) were excluded from ecclesiastical councils and the whole internal life of the Church: an exclusion which, of course, reacted powerfully upon that apathy. The clergy, left to itself, felt and acted naturally as a prejudiced corporation; and, by this means, the feeling of the inward religious independence and liberty of the individual and of the people was weakened, and in a like degree all interest in liberty of thought and the love of progress. This observation bears especially upon the main point, the celebration of the Communion. The consciousness of the Christian Sacrifice necessarily manifests itself as a sacerdotal one, in the medieval sense, whenever the want of expressing it awakens in a dominant sacerdotal corporation, and not in a nation.

It appears futile to attempt to control that sacerdotal tendency by the veto of the governing powers of the State. Nor can the evil be remedied by the rejection of all idea of sacrifice, and by reducing the service to a cold formless act of the understanding. Such a dry naked worship is as far removed as possible from the "reasonable service" of the Apostles, and never can satisfy the religious feeling of the people for any length of time, but must tend rather

to generate a dangerous enthusiasm or a hierarchical reaction: Methodism or Romanism.

Upon these grounds I think the *fact* may be explained, that the great movement of the sixteenth century, as it shows itself (with contradictory defects) in the two Books of Edward VI., loses, at the very outset of the spirit-killing seventeenth century, all progressive vitality in England; whereas the hierarchical tendency, which endeavoured to supersede the legal and national Liturgy, continues its reactionary attempts. The national spirit of the English people repulsed these attempts: but the forms of the national Liturgy became rigid before it had reached its organic perfection.

With all this, however, it must not be forgotten, that the English Church- and House-Book became and has remained at once the most widely circulated, and the most practically blessed book of devotion in the Christian world, and the only national one. With the exception of the Quakers, all Dissenters who speak the English language (even the Unitarians) retain a large portion, the Methodists almost the whole, without any alteration, of the contents of that Church-Book. The lamentable notion, that the service is essentially the sermon, has, by that means, been carefully guarded against by the English Church, as well as the spirit of theological quibbling which darkens the ancient, and the arbitrary license of the individual minister which disfigures the modern, Ger-

man development. It must, at the same time, as a matter of justice, be admitted, that, comparatively speaking, free prayer and free preaching have been much discountenanced, and almost banished from the service as "enthusiasm," by the exclusive fixity of English ritualism.

As to the celebration of the Communion, the English rite is undoubtedly in every respect the most dignified and solemn. It exhibits also externally the idea of the brotherhood of the communicants, much more than the single successive Communion used in most Lutheran Churches. The chancel serves very appropriately as a means for uniting successively ten or twenty communicants during that sacred act.

The liturgical service of the Protestant Churches on the Continent has, in spite of their having retained some beautiful elements, particularly in the Lutheran congregations, remained entirely without new and renovating ideas. But the sermon, as the testimony of the Spirit, hallowing and inspiring the speech in the congregation, has been dignifiedly, and in some respects grandly, developed. This naturally cannot be obtained without power and habit of meditation; as connected thought and meditation, again, cannot exist without thorough fundamental theological study and practice.

Upon the whole, then, we must say, that the Protestant Churches, from the very beginning, have

nowhere succeeded in exhibiting religious worship as a sacrifice; although they have, to a certain degree, aimed at doing so. Their service is pure in its essentials, but wants an organic idea, as the centre of the sacred act of the Congregation; and, when there is no Communion, is without any deeper basis on which a new life of worship, and consequently a Church, can permanently be established in the world.

Hence, also, we may now form a more just estimate of the Catholicizing tendency which has unfortunately become so prominent in a certain school in England, whenever attention has been turned to the defects in the National Liturgy, and to the older forms of Oblation. The error consists solely in this, that they have capriciously apotheosized a later, and, besides, demonstrably misunderstood custom, which is in contradiction to the earlier one. This they would hardly have done, had they not loved the killing Form more than the life-giving Idea. This form, again, would not have been so unqualifiedly insisted on, had it not been a question of enthroning the authority of the priesthood, as such, whether from weakness of faith or out of love of sacerdotal dominion. It cannot, however, escape the notice of the historian, that this same hierarchical love of power exists also among those who idolize the letter of the present English Liturgy. The unprejudiced observer cannot fail to detect here also the struggle of every caste of the priesthood to make the

form administered by themselves a holy life-giving thing in itself, and thereby to enhance the validity of their own sacerdotal prerogatives. Such a tendency may be a mark of great wisdom in a false religion. It is wholly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and therefore not conservative. Instead of furthering, it impedes the progress of the kingdom of God, which advances only by the progressive triumph of the idea of the inward sacrifice of self for the brethren, out of thankful love to God. The ancient Church, into whose records we have searched, as well as the Gospel, cries aloud against such tendencies and against their necessary consequences.

III.

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

THE ancient Church may be considered as an Apostolical type and model in two particulars: the Idea of the spiritual Christian thank-offering, and the Ordering of Divine Service in the form of a common act of the minister and congregation. The later, that is, the post-Nicene, Greek Church, and the Roman Church also in some points, especially in her collects, offer much valuable material and many instructive hints to the investigator, who, with Christian freedom, follows up the thought of worship in the intervening fifteen centuries. But in so doing, the Idea must always be borne in mind, and the Form be kept subordinate to the Spirit. Thus the old collects were originally intended to sum up, collect, the silent prayers to which the people had been called; only at a later period they became independent forms. As to the collects which precede the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, they were intended to refer to the contents of these selections from Scripture. But indeed the Gregorian collect is only an appropriate one for the festivals, as a Christmas

or Easter collect for instance. The Sunday Epistle and Gospel have very rarely any such connexion with the Sunday collect which precedes them, and the collect thus becomes, to a certain degree, a mere form. The only way, therefore, of at all carrying out the idea of the ancient Church would be, to insert, in place of the present collect, a particular Epistle collect, and a particular Gospel collect. In that case, they might be both used, or the one only of them which it seems desirable to make the more prominent. If, then, the Roman Church, in her use of collects, though not the inventress of the form (for it is borrowed from the Greek Church), is still eminently distinguished as a composer, she is without the element of prophetic lessons which we find preserved in the African and Gallican Churches. The idea of such lessons, by the side of short passages of the Gospel history and Apostolical teaching, was to show throughout the ecclesiastical year the harmony between the Old and New Testaments. The prophetic lesson precedes the Epistle and Gospel both in the African and Gallican Liturgies. If, therefore, we apply that idea in a Scriptural sense, a selection of short passages of Scripture, one for the Epistle, and one for the Gospel of the day, consisting of striking passages from the books of the Prophets and verses of the Psalms, would seem the most appropriate form for showing the internal harmony of the spiritual elements of the Old and New Testaments,

and for bringing before the mind of the congregation the real typical and prophetic character of the Prophets and Psalms. The later Roman Church endeavoured to obtain the same by the verses of the Introit. It is clear that Hippolytus had also some such object in view in the indication of some Lessons from the Old Testament affixed to his Table of Easter.

The idea is evidently excellent: but the mode in which it was carried out in the ancient Church herself, we cannot vaunt as a model for imitation. She endeavours generally to demonstrate that harmony by bringing forward long passages of the Old Testament. These, however, generally either do not really apply to the object proposed, except by virtue of a wholly untenable interpretation, or they simply contain a few words of a kindred character which are lost in the context, or, at all events, obscured by it. The spiritual treasures of the Prophets and Psalms which really answer this purpose are very far from having been exhausted by the ancient Church, and are scarcely used at all by the early Protestant school, some liturgical compositions of the Book of Common Prayer excepted. What then becomes of the idolatry of ancient forms? If those English writers who urge the imperfect letter of the post-Nicene Church proposed it as a model of Christian wisdom and taste, their opinion might be very quietly discussed. But, as they bring it forward as sacred authority, we must first ask to

what authority they refer? If to that of the primitive Church, they cannot maintain their position one moment, for the forms they idolize are unknown to that ancient Church, and very often nothing but misunderstandings and wrecks of that primitive age. If they appeal to the authority of the Latin Church, they must first go to Rome to have a right to do so; if to that of the Church of England, they forget that this Church has, by using her Christian reforming liberty, overthrown the principle of idolatry both of Church authority and of ritualism. If, finally, they appeal to their own authority, let them give us their reasons, and enter frankly upon the ground of free discussion.

It is a very laudable feeling to appeal to Christian antiquity, if it be done subserviently to Scripture and to the Spirit. But whoever appeals to the forms and ordinances of the fifth and sixth or subsequent centuries ought to consider, that to accept a later development as a precedent implies the abandonment of the earlier one, of which those forms, in most cases, are manifestly a conventional modification or a corruption. As the whole proceeding is arbitrary throughout and unhistorical, it very often leads to assertions which honest criticism cannot approve.

The attempts to bring back the English Liturgy to the standard of those centuries are in every respect fraught with mischief, and furnish a warning example for all times. That false principle once adopted, the

result of such a tendency must be a total misapprehension of the evangelical element, and, ultimately, a relapse to the Roman mass, whether with or without invocation of saints is almost indifferent. But what shall we say of the levity, presumption, and delusion, implied in the pompous and empty Liturgy of the so-called Irvingites? Their founder, a pious and eloquent man, honestly mistook the convulsive paroxysms of crude minds and morbid persons, who during his sermons or prayers were seized by the idea of the Infinite, for the Spirit of God; and the naturally incomprehensible words which accompanied them, for His secret message to mankind. What originated in enthusiasm now threatens to end in liturgical pomp and hierarchical pretension. Instead of establishing the idea of the Christian Sacrifice, the followers of Irving have plundered the Liturgies of the Greek and other Churches, with the hands of tyros, without spirit or learning; and the new apostles act as if their object were indeed to disguise the hollowness and untenableness of their crude enthusiasm under a shallow phraseology and bombastic hierarchical forms, in order to rivet insensibly the same chains upon the world which they promise to loose with the spirit.

As to the so-called Tractarians, we readily admit their merit in endeavouring to infuse the spirit into a languishing unspirituality; though we must frankly also admit, that they have sought the ancient spirit

in medieval forms, and intellectual liberty in the domain of despotism.

The way of life lies exclusively in imparting new vitality and free development to elements which we find already petrified and disfigured in the stereotyped liturgical formularies, but which are truly Apostolical and evangelical, and traceable to the primitive Church, although not completely carried out in the same. It is precisely because they are only suggestive and symbolical, that the established formularies of this earliest age are still a standing model. They consequently may not only be preserved where they exist, but even freely introduced wherever there is life, on the congregational basis. Thus alone can we hope to restore to new life the genuine Christian act of worship, the different stages of which they significantly point out, and to revive that truly catholic feeling of our connexion with the earliest age of Christianity. Beyond that much may be taken from the spirit, very little from the letter, of the ancient Liturgies. For the benefit of the Eastern congregations who wish to embrace the Gospel, we may endeavour to adapt their national Liturgies to practical use by expunging what does not harmonize with it. But let no one deceive himself on this point; this is at most a state of transition; what remains is more sacerdotal than popular, more formal than spiritual. Those Liturgies are one-sided and defective. They do not satisfy the Christian

feelings of our age, and no one feels the weight of antiquated forms more severely than those who have sighed under them and experienced their blighting influence, and who know the abuse which has been made of the letter in order to stifle the spirit.

As regards the Churches of the Reformation, each Church is called upon, in the first place, to resort to the Spirit of God in herself; consequently, also, to her own treasures, and to everything which the Spirit of God has already striven to utter in her language. There exist, nevertheless, in each of them valuable catholic elements, to be universally received and imitated by the sister Churches. In such elements, notwithstanding all her defects, the English Liturgy is preeminently rich, especially as regards the spirit of dignified propriety and order, the spirit of nationality, and the principle of the active cooperation of the people in the public worship. The copiousness of her liturgical elements is particularly adapted for remedying the nakedness, scantiness, and fragmentary nature of the other Protestant Liturgies, and for establishing the universal idea of divine service as one of worship and adoration. The German Churches, on the other hand, may be a model to the English Church, in so far as they maintain the principle of the free element, both as regards the prayer and the sermon. "Quench not the Spirit," says the Apostle. There is a power in the living outpouring of the Spirit by free prayer, and in a sermon delivered out of the fulness

of faith and thought, which a set form and a written sermon do not possess. As regards the psalmody, the mode of singing the Psalms by verses, adopted from the Latin Church by mere accident, that is upon no principle whatever, and the indiscriminate use of them without any selection, are decidedly two great defects. For, as before observed, the Psalms, when sung, cannot be considered as instructive and edifying passages of Scripture, but as the expression of the inmost feelings of the worshipping congregation. The rigid adhesion to the indiscriminate use of the Psalter, instead of using Christian hymns, is connected with the Celto-Romanic literalism and want of faith in the Spirit. It originated in France; and the Reformed Churches of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland originally shared it to a certain extent with the English Church, as already remarked above. In like manner, the Idea of the Choir as a substitute for congregational singing, is as unapostolical as it is unspiritual. The choir, where feasible, should form a connecting link between the clergy and congregation, and raise the activity of the congregation instead of quenching or destroying it. Here, again, the retrograde party have had a correct perception of the defect, but (as was the natural consequence of their perverted instinct) have adopted the opposite method for removing it. Instead of encouraging the singing of Christian hymns, and generally strengthening the organic

activity of the congregation by singing, they have, wherever they could, abolished it altogether, fancying, at the same time, that in so doing they were representing Christian antiquity. The living choir of the congregation is the Parish School. Out of it a real choral singing may everywhere be formed, that is, a choir singing in parts without any organ accompaniment: not to be substituted for the singing of the congregation, but to raise and animate it. In towns, wherever a system of instruction in singing and Church music exists, such choirs may execute the most sublime compositions.

But as to the hymns themselves, it is in the domain of sacred hymnology that the development of the Church since the Reformation has produced a work which has a marked place in universal history, and which will survive in future ages, after most of the literary products of the last three centuries shall have been long forgotten. In the Lutheran Church of Germany alone, of all ancient and modern Churches, the spirit of God has organically formed the great lyric epos of Christianity, exhibiting the divine development of God's revelation to man in the universal Christian Church. Such a historical epos can indeed be composed out of the German Church hymns, and only out of them. The German hymns represent the only unbroken series of poetry in the German language; and, besides, together with some twenty or thirty classical hymns of the ancient and medieval

Latin Churches, form a grand whole of sacred inspiration, composed instinctively during fifteen centuries. The music to these German hymns, or the so-called choral airs, is again, the only example of living renewal and artistic development of that ancient composition commonly called the Ambrosian. The psalmody, on the other hand, or Gregorian chant of the Psalms, born out of the Greek recitative, has been not only retained in the English Church, but, though in a one-sided and not very systematic and classical manner, richly developed according to the national taste of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In regard to lyrical music for the service, however, Palæstrina remains as unapproached, as do Sebastian Bach and Händel in the dramatic. But this dramatic sacred music, of which the so-called oratorio is the spiritual expression, is not adapted for Church service. For this service excludes musical instruments, which are an inseparable part of the oratorio. The organ forms an exception, because it is simply a substitute for the human voice, and ought properly only to supply the want of singing in parts, and to be treated as strengthening the singing of the whole congregation. For this reason the interludes (*Zwischenspiele*) between the lines of the hymns are a nuisance, which crept into the German Churches in the dreary times of the seventeenth century. The power of the organ, and the art of the organist, may be shown before and after the service.

We must not omit this opportunity of saying a few words upon Church Architecture. It is her province first to speak truth, secondly to do her work in good style. She has consequently to satisfy real wants, while she is to exhibit at the same time the typical character of the Church. In such a typical, universal, intelligible character stands the basilica-form, deeply imprinted into the European Christian life. In reference to these two points, I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying, that the form of the basilicas of the third and fourth centuries might be applied, with slight modification, to the Evangelical service. The idea of the old basilica can be equally well realized in the antique style of architecture, as in the Byzantine and Gothic: only, then, let it be a correct, and not a corrupt, style. The case is very different, however, with regard to the adoption of the medieval cathedral architecture, as being the fundamental form of the Celto-Romanic style. The medieval church may either be carried out in the medieval (Byzantine or Gothic) style of architecture, or in the modern Roman, like St. Peter's and the churches of Palladio. But it is always calculated for a medieval Liturgy and service. The so-called Gothic, formerly termed the Germanic, but which I should prefer to call the Celto-Romanic, must consequently be created anew for the restored basilicas, that is to say, must be organically adapted to them. It is a beautiful alphabet, with which one may compose basilicas

as well as cathedrals. Above all, however, in every living restoration of ecclesiastical architecture, the untruthfulness must be got rid of, which has worked its way into all modern architecture, and especially into this elevated branch of it, particularly in the case of the churches of the Jesuits. In a true restoration of church architecture, care will be taken not to pay any attention to appearance and show, out of fondness for antiquity, but, at the same time, to meet every real want in an artistic manner, with Christian truth and honesty and Evangelical and Protestant freedom. The aim will be to give one distinct character to the fore part of the church (which may be called the Sermon-church), and another to the Altar-church, the place of worship and of the Communion service. These two must be kept separate, and yet both be treated as parts of an organic whole. The most conspicuous part of the one is the Pulpit and Reading-desk, that of the other the Communion table. The pulpit must not appear as a piece of furniture, but must grow organically out of the idea of the whole building. This must be the effort of the genius which aims at building a place for the Church of the Future, worthy of the Spirit and of Art; but any truth is better and more beautiful than all show and all untruth.

Still, how is a living Christian Architecture possible, unless the idea of worship, of which it ought

to be the architectonic form, has already found its expression spiritually in the organization of the congregation, and liturgically in the form of Divine service?

In this respect, however, the defects visible in the English Church are infinitely more glaring in the Churches of the Continent. We want a creative form for the reanimation of that idea in which the whole Christian service originated. It is clear, from what has been said before, that this idea can be no other than the pure exhibition of the view of Christian sacrifice, unfettered by any negation, or any tradition, institution, or external consideration; such a sacrifice as is expressed clearly enough in the Gospels and Epistles, and such as forms the basis of the whole life of worship in the ancient Church, although not freely developed there.

In this restoration, the National element will have to be embodied on one side; the Universal or Catholic element on the other. But, above all, the process must go on from the internal to the external, not from the external to the internal: and the only inward vital germ of future life is in the organization of congregational life.

IV.

THE PICTURE AND IMPORT OF THE OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

If we turn our eyes towards the other sacred acts of the ancient Church, the ceremony which appears to us as the most important is that of Reception or Baptism, a picture of which is given in the First Book. Of the other sacred acts we know very little.

In the *Marriages* of the ancient Christians, the congregation appeared more in its constitutional than in its devotional character. The marriage was arranged with the consent of the Church, according to the law of the land. If the couple were both Christians, they probably received the bishop's or elder's benediction at the Lord's table. Holy, however, and awful (as a mystery, or sacrament) was Marriage itself, not its liturgical solemnization.

As regards the *Burial of the Dead*, the emperor Julian mentions it expressly, as exemplary and commendable from its dignity and solemnity. Fixed liturgical forms for it, however, did not exist. But the allusions of St. Chrysostom to the psalms used on that occasion, the description left us by

Augustin of the funeral ceremonies of his pious mother, and a few hymns of the same century of the Church, show that the inexhaustible Psalm-book, partly perhaps in conformity with Jewish precedents, was made use of at those funerals, in the sense of faith and hope. Even at the present day, in the Eastern as well as Western Church, the unadulterated Gregorian chant, with a dignified slow execution, is the most ancient, as well as, for those who understand what is sung, most affecting, part of the ritual. No rational doubt can be entertained that the congregation made mention of their deceased brethren at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as early as the third century. We have already explained, in our picture of Divine service, the order in which the Prayers were arranged at this solemnity. The custom of Funeral Feasts, as will be shown in the Fourth Book, was borrowed from the heathen: but these were rendered orderly and pure, and the wealthy used them as opportunities for performing acts of charity, by making large contributions to their poorer brethren.

Among modern ordinances, the English Funeral Service is a model of dignity and solemnity, and beautiful in its choice of the psalms. The German Lutheran Service, however, has its own noble elements of spiritual poetry, in common with the most ancient Church. In the Marriage Ceremony both are exemplary; but here, again, by the side of the

truly grand national work of the English Liturgy, the Liturgies of distracted Germany show only classical elements clumsily put together: the natural consequence of provincial dismemberment.

BOOK IV.

THE RULES OF CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE CONGREGATIONAL, SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

UNDER this title we have collected every particular furnished by the genuine texts as to the general life of Christians. It is not our intention to discuss the details here. Such of them as required explanation have already been examined sufficiently for our purpose in the preceding pages. The only point which concerns us here, moreover, is their import for universal history; and this we shall best bring under the notice of our readers, by referring the most important definitions to the general point of view of philosophical history.

Congregational life was, in the eyes of the early Christians, not so much the connecting link between domestic and public life, as it was essentially the extended domestic, and the only public life which was valuable or accessible to the Christian. The members of the Church were brothers and sisters to each other. The Church itself was a free commonwealth, and, in very early times, felt that it

was the organic member of a vast commonwealth destined to embrace the world. Every thing which lay beyond this luminous point was dark, hostile, and doomed to destruction, as being "this world," that is, the political order of the Roman empire, which was destined to perish, as well as the national existence of the Jews.

The Christian life was based upon Christian customs. If the domestic customs were respectable, the congregational were holy; for they constituted the separation between light and darkness, faith and unbelief, holiness and ungodliness. To these customs belonged, first of all, the practice of Fasting, which was connected with Divine service; and the observation of Sunday as the Lord's day, with or without that of the Saturday as Sabbath: the frequent, and in some Churches daily, partaking of the Communion; and the rule for the admission of foreign elders to offer the benediction before the Holy Supper.

The fasting which was commanded by Christ was a private abstinence from food, for the purpose of producing tranquillity of mind. Thus in our genuine collections there does not exist a single ordinance which enters into this private life of the individual. It was only in Passion week, when the congregation regularly assembled every day, and, with pious thoughts turned into their own bosoms, bewailing the sins which had betrayed the Lord and crucified Him, that a common fast was observed as a congrega-

tional ordinance. The death of Christ occupied their minds, especially on the day of our Lord's betrayal, the Wednesday, and the day of His crucifixion, Friday. Now, as the children of the family refrain from the social joyous family meal when their father is taken away from them, so did the Church on those days in that week, but still with a rational liberty according to circumstances. This alone suffices to show that the fasting of the Holy week was not an unqualified abstinence from food, but a common ordinance for limiting them to bread and unsavoury dishes (xerophagy). In this sense, it is true that in the age before us, in occasional instances, a forty days' fast was kept as a pious custom, in reference to the forty days' fasting of Jesus in the Wilderness, and commonly the weekly fasts on Wednesday and Friday. But the Alexandrian Collections show that the origin of this custom of fasting and of the ordinance had reference to Passion week, and that care was taken to trace it back to the institutions of the Apostles.

The celebration of the day of our Lord's Resurrection was already more solemnly observed than the Jewish Sabbath, considered as the eve of the great solemnity. We nowhere, however, find a trace of that relapse into Jewish ceremonial, the unchristian interruption of congregational Church and social life, which some persons in the English and Scotch Churches, amiable in other respects, maintain to be

a divine institution binding upon all Christians; and who are not contented with defending a wise and free popular custom, which may be, within certain limits, a necessary *correctio* for many people, as Christian and moral in the idea. It is consolatory to see that a man so strongly attached to positive Church doctrines, and so earnest as Hengstenberg, has voluntarily come forward to oppose the abuse of this custom, in a little work of his which has lately appeared, containing thoroughly sound principles upon the observation of Sunday. Judaism remains Judaism, and is both foreign and in opposition to the Gospel.

The Love-feasts (Church- and House-Book, p. 79. sqq.) were the connecting link between the congregational life of the Church and her social life. It was the hallowing of the Syssitiæ, or common meals of the ancient world, which, as a remnant of the old Germanic custom, holds, even to the present day, so important a place in England and the United States. In primitive times, the object was nothing less than an assemblage of persons, especially at the common meals, for the purpose of purifying themselves from all idolatrous customs, as well as from all immorality and irregularities, which had eaten, like a cancer, into the whole framework of society in the latter ages of the decline and fall of Greece and Rome. Thus, long after they had ceased to be connected with the Church celebration of the Lord's

Supper, these Love-feasts of the early Christians were instituted and perpetuated; brotherly meals which still partially take place in the Churches, and from which the bishop should never have absented himself, because the feeling of the original association in a social religious meal has still survived. Now it was by these that the purification of common life was prepared against the time when God should renew the world, that is to say, should will to send a new fresh natural element, a people endued with strong vital powers, for the complete constitutional development of the germ implanted in families and Churches which were rescued from destruction.

Such is the historical import of the custom here alluded to, relative to the Love-feasts or Agapæ of the primitive Christians.

Now their entire common life, the congregational Church and social life, rested on the Christian reform of domestic life, with which we have also connected all the other rules and maxims which affect individual Christians. Many of these exhibit the character of the ancient world, which was possessed by a dread of demons, and, under an anxious apprehension of the influence of charms, sought for external preservatives against the powers of Evil, and accompanied their prayers with external signs and gestures. The point to be especially noticed here is, that our ordinance (p. 87. supra) expressly says that the important thing

is for the believers to know that the sign is only a sign, and the heart and faith the main point, the real preservative.

The Remembrance of the Dead forms a part of the duties of domestic as well as common life. Both Jewish and heathen custom tended to support the general feeling of humanity. The Service for the Dead, the pious care for the departed, represented by prayers, sacrifices, and remembrances, was more deeply rooted in the religion of the old Greeks and Romans than any other of its ordinances, and in the ancient Christian service survived the fall of heathenism. Precisely in the same manner, among the Chinese, there is scarcely any other living remain of old faith and old nationality existing, except this custom of pious superstition.

I have sufficiently pointed out, in the preceding Book, what was the Apostolical ground, and what was the obscure point of this custom in the primitive Church.

At the very end of the Church- and House-Book (p. 94. supra) is given one of the two injunctions of the Church of Jerusalem, by which the Apostles connected that Christian community with the Gentile Christians in Antioch: namely, the command to abstain from eating the Sacrificial Meats. This command, and that against Fornication, were the two starting-points and fundamental pillars of Christian Church discipline, or congregational order. The first

abolished the worship of idols, which was inseparably connected with all the art and civilization of antiquity, as well as with the whole political life of heathenism. It contained a testimony against idolatry which the existing tyrants of the world could not effectually gainsay. It was the first declaration of war by the spirit of freedom and human dignity, which was driven back into the inward recesses of the conscience. It accordingly also, for that very reason, led to a collision with the powers of this world, and made Christians detested by the Greeks and Romans, still more than Jews, because those men were, for the most part, brethren and children of their own nationality, not sons of the exclusive Jewish nation, who kept themselves aloof in hostile isolation. But in the sense of this war, our Lord had uttered those sublime historically important words (Luke, xii. 49.), shortly after he entered upon his office of teacher: "I am come to send fire on the earth; and how do I wish it might already be kindled?" The first command cast the Divine firebrand into the old world, which was doomed to destruction. The second penetrated still deeper into the heart of heathenism, and even of the then existing Judaism; and it requires the child-like innocence of Neander, to comprehend how that historian should have expressed his wonder that it could have been necessary to issue such a command, on such a subject, for the first time, to Christian men.

With this second command is connected a point noticed in a remarkable passage of the Greek text of the Constitutions (p. 94. supra), in regard to matrimonial relations and the whole domestic life, to which, also, belongs the relative position of master and servant.

We would, first of all, remark, commencing with the latter, that the relation between master and slave not only expresses that of a master of a house and his servant, but also that of an employer and his workman: for in those times all manufacturing operations were performed by slaves. We have, on that account, already made some remarks, among our observations upon the Catechumens, as to the social importance of the claims that Christianity, which was to reform the world from within and from below, made upon its followers. Our Apostolical ordinance prescribes that the Christian master shall not make his slaves work more than five days in the week. The Saturday and Sunday were to be appropriated to their instruction in religious duties. This essentially includes the whole question of the present day, as to giving workmen in manufactories school education and an opportunity of attending the Church service. In Passion and Easter weeks, moreover, it was enjoined that no work should be done, in order that they might have more especial instruction in Christianity.

What an attack upon the kingdom of insatiable

Mammon! What arrogance on the part of a few miserable outcasts, vagabond Jews and their adherents among the lower classes of Roman society! We can thus easily comprehend the hatred of the whole world, of which Tacitus speaks; and the injunction mentioned in the Apocalypse as given by the persecuting Jews and heathens, not to buy anything of Christians, and to exclude them as much as possible, as enemies of the gods and of men, from all intercourse of social life. But still, at all events, it was a *heathen* state and a *heathen* society, which was leagued with Rabbinism to proscribe and persecute the principle of Christianity. If, now, that proud mistress of the world and her people perished for their resistance to the religion of the Spirit and of freedom, how can existing governments and nations which confess Christ with their lips but serve Mammon, and are in bondage to the most selfish gratifications, just as if there were no other world but this and its treasures, how can they, I say, escape from the like destruction? And oh the blind prophets and theologians! who interpret the signs of the Apocalypse, and explain as prophetic of our days what had reference to the fall of Jerusalem and of Rome, and yet are struck with such blindness as to the signs of their own times! Oh the fools! who, if they do see the imminent perils of this age, think to ward them off by narrow-minded persecution of such as differ from them in opinion, and by maintaining external

forms and hypocritical customs! But they are as utterly incompetent really to divine the signs of that momentous past, as they are to interpret those of the present time. They are waiting (like the Jews) for the consummation of that which has been long ago accomplished, and misunderstand not only the Apocalypse, but the words of the Gospel also. They cannot comprehend the universal judgment of history which lies before their eyes; all which preaches the same truth, only in still stronger and clearer language than the veiled visions in that book. The forecast of the Apostles, and the prophecies of the Apocalypse are fulfilled; and the words of Christ are verified to the letter. The generation of the Apostles did not pass away until Jerusalem had fallen, and the axe was laid at the roots of Rome, and, in fact, by Christianity itself. This was not done by superhuman force, nor, again, by natural force, but by spiritual fire; that consuming Divine fire which is inherent in the doctrine of Christ.

The mighty lever which put in operation the religious and moral influences which have renewed the world lay in the most holy relation of mankind, in marriage. Christianity found concubinage recognized by law, the legitimate established form under which the two sexes lived together. Divorces, however, were frequent, even among the Jews themselves. The legislation of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, for restoring the dignity of the ancient Roman marriage, proved, like

all external reforms in the spiritual domain, utterly ineffectual. The main points in the law of marriage enacted by the Apostles were nothing but the honest conclusions drawn by believers from the words of Christ. We might condense them into the following canons:

"The husband owes to the wife the same constancy which she owes to him: 'Let the marriage-bed be undefiled,' says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"Married couples form a unity of person, like the unity of the Lord with His Church: the husband, consequently, cannot give his wife a bill of divorcement, except for the cause of adultery, that is, on account of infidelity. For adultery, as a betrayal of the privilege of maternity which has been confided to her, is, as it were, her civil death, and dissolves the partnership for life, as does natural death.

"The wife, however, cannot separate herself from her husband on account of his infidelity, so as to be free from the bond of wedlock.

"To marry a woman divorced for anything but her own infidelity, in the lifetime of her husband, is adultery: for the repudiated wife ought to wait for reconciliation; she is bound so long as her husband lives."

As regards the forbidden degrees of consanguinity and affinity, the Christians evidently observed in primitive times the injunctions of the Law. The 19th Apostolic canon forbids an ecclesiastic to marry his sister-in-law, his uncle's daughter, or his niece (as being the first degree of consanguinity), just as it forbids him to contract a second marriage,

or to espouse a divorced woman, a concubine, or an unchaste person. This, consequently, was an enactment against something of ordinary occurrence in common Christian life, although the person so marrying was blamed.

The Christian woman herself, however, was looked upon in a very different light to the Jewess and the heathen. She was honoured as a co-heiress of the kingdom of heaven, as sharing the same responsibilities and the same hopes. And the woman made ample return to Christianity for what Christianity did for her. In the higher as well as lower classes, it was woman who made most of the converts to the religion of mankind, and, during persecutions, displayed the courage of the hero with the discipline of the virgin.

And here we have reached the inmost centre of the spiritual power of Christianity, the feeling of moral responsibility, of the spiritual independence of all its members, poor and rich, educated and uneducated, men and women, young men and maidens. This feeling of moral responsibility rests, however, essentially upon faith in the divine power and the godlike strength of man, in the moral liberty to combat the selfish desires of his senses and passions, and to act according to the voice of conscience, as the voice of God in him.

And we now call upon every observer of history and of the present times, conscientiously to inquire

whether this fundamental power of Christianity is more general in the great mass of the population, in countries where the Reformation has been adopted, or in those which have remained under the dominion of Rome: and again, whether it is stronger in those Catholic countries which have not been affected at all by the Reformation, or in those which have experienced its influence, even though it be only on account of their immediate vicinity to Protestantism. The answer of one and all is written with letters of fire (and with a back-ground of blood) on the leaves of the history of the world.

The second question, however, we address to those who, in England or Germany, say, or who follow those who say, that the misery of our times, and the decline of Christianity, can be remedied by calling upon individuals and nations simply to do what the Clergy has ordered, or is ordering, or will order, for them, under promise of salvation if they obey, and under pain of damnation if they do not; in short, by the restoration of that sacerdotal power over the consciences and religious convictions of men which their fathers rejected in faith, as unchristian, by a solemn declaration and protest.

It would be presumptuous to suppose that any person whose blindness on these points cannot be removed by the Gospel, and by the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and of the bloody struggle against it on the part of the Catholic

dynasties and the priesthood, will have his eyes opened by the picture of the ancient Church. But, at all events, this picture condemns them when they appeal to that primitive Church; a great and glorious time, although not free from the defects of a sinking age. Almost all the lies and frauds in history, law, constitution, and doctrine have gradually been given up step by step, from the Decretals down to the Pseudo-Dionysius, not from goodwill, but from the mere impossibility of maintaining the discussion. The few remaining isolated props of the system, upon which honest investigators might formerly differ in opinion, give way more and more every day.

The age is at this moment in the birth-throe; whether for destruction or conservation is uncertain, but assuredly not for the permanent establishment of a power of falsehood and oppression, and assuredly as little for the foundation of a pretorian imperialism in the heart of civilized Europe, as of a lying Jesuitism, its ally.

On the other hand, however, it must not be disguised, that the one-sidedness of the ancient Church, and the infinitely greater of the middle ages, cannot be abolished or avoided, unless the whole European life be reformed upon Christian and Evangelical principles; common social life as well as worship, political life as well as ecclesiastical. The ancient Church sunk into ritualism, because the social and political life was extinct. The middle ages could not

recover the equilibrium, because that ritualism had made a clerical congregation the mistress of the world. The highest realization of the idea of religion, of the sacrifice of self, consists in carrying out in the life the vow made in the act of worship. There is no distinction of works, no good works for the Church; the divinely high or good work is life in faith, the fulfilment of the high or humble vocation which every one may have assigned him, whether it be the prince's or the philosopher's, the clergyman's or the shoemaker's, according to the legend of St. Antony, so highly prized by Luther. But as the realization of the Christian principle is more completely carried out in married than in single life, in the congregation more than in the domestic circle; so is its realization in the people, as a nation, by means of a State constituted on Christian principles, and consequently free by sovereign law, the highest aim of Christianity. The noblest minds and people are now striving to bring about this sovereignty of the law, which is the divine right of every human sovereignty. The victory is certain, if people and governments will meet one another as in the presence of Christ, to whom they both appeal. Christ is to become People, as eighteen centuries ago He became Man; for it is only through Peoples and States enjoying Christian freedom that He can become Mankind. But nations must, out of love to God, sacrifice self for the community, if governments are to make the greatest of all sacrifices, that of dictatorial power.

The Law-Book of the Ante-Nicene Church.

When the position of the clergy developed itself as a special one, but still within the congregation, certain legislative institutions became necessary, for maintaining discipline and order in this corporation. Such was the origin of the "Definitions," or declarations of spiritual law, of which Hippolytus speaks. The most ancient collection of these "Definitions" contains about thirty, which were embodied in the second century by some one well acquainted with the subject, as being a summary of what was considered in the consciousness of the Church, as sanctioned by custom immemorial. This First Collection consisted of three chapters.*

	Total.
I. On Ordination: Canons I. II. - -	2
II. On the Oblation and Communion: III—V. VIII. XII. - - - -	8
III. On Acts which deprive of official Rights or Offices: XIII—XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVIII. XXXIV. - - -	20
Sum total,	30 canons.

* See Table of Contents of the Law-Book, p. 99. sqq., to be compared with the discussion in the Second Volume, pp. 220–240. 257–262. 338. Upon the canon (XXXV.) about the metropolitan system, see above, p. 224. As to the ancient canons concerning the marriage of the clergy (XVII — XIX.), compared with the later interpolations (VI. XXVII. XLVII.), see p. 229. and Vols. I. and II.

To these were appended, but at an early date:

IV. On the Rights and Duties of the Bishop: XXX—XLI. - - - 7

and subsequently, when the collection thus extended had been formed:

V. Other Grounds of Deprivation: XLII —LXVI. - - - - - - 5

Complete genuine Collection, 42 canons.

Thus far the criticism of this collection brings us by internal evidence. But the Collection of the Church of Alexandria, which has come down to us, authentically proves that the canons from XLVII. to L. were added afterwards. As an interpolation was made into the earliest collections of the Thirty Definitions, so was an ordinance upon the marriage of the clergy (XLVIII.) inserted into the extended collection, and doubtless in the third, or the first years of the fourth century.

Thus, therefore, the collection, when critically examined upon the history of the marriage of the clergy, authenticates the gradual establishment of a varying particular law for the clergy, by the very fact of the later custom being inserted into the collection which was already held as authority by the Church.

The Second Collection, which is not recognized by the Roman Church, bears already a more decided character of a Law-Book for the internal discipline of the clergy, with penal enactments. It contains

three "Definitions" which are evidently post-Nicene: canon LXXXI. manifestly a repetition and confirmation of a former one (in the First Collection, can. XX. comp. with XXXI.); and canons LXXXIII. and LXXXIV. which are inseparable, and neither of which harmonizes with what precedes. It is obvious that the appended canon of Scripture is spurious, from the very fact of its contradicting, in many points, the authentic traditions and assumptions of the early Church. Moreover, it is wanting in the oldest MS. of the present text, the celebrated Codex Barberinus.*

We have to establish three especial points for our survey of universal history.

First: that this primitive Ecclesiastical law is the earliest law of a really free corporation, formed at the period of the decay of all the others.

Secondly: that this law was essentially a congregational law, and implies the legislative cooperation of the Christian people, as well as do the first legal definitions of the Church of Jerusalem.

Thirdly: that the judicial proceeding connected with it (upon which some regulations occur in the second section of the Text-Book) contains many of the germs of the Christian criminal trial, as they have later been worked out by English legislation. The rack came to the canonical process from the civil legislation:

* See Appendix on the text of the Apostolical Canons, p. 173. supra.

but the only Christian method of discovering truth, even without such a spiritual rack as the compulsory confession of the inquisitorial process, namely, the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, originated in the Canon Law.

As regards the new Canon Law, it begins with the Decretals, which were forged by the Latin priests and sanctioned by the popes, and it closes with the canons of James I. of the year 1604, which are foreign to the Common Law of England to this day, from their never having received the sanction of Parliament, and, moreover, as far as the known records go, appear to be only the resolutions of the province of Canterbury. The connecting links of this Canon Law with the Ecclesiastical Law of the age of Hippolytus are: first, misunderstandings and abuses; secondly, fraud and forgeries; thirdly, the sanction by that same absolute power which raised its throne upon those misunderstandings, abuses, and forgeries. There exists, most certainly, a historical connexion between the two, but it is highly illegitimate and shameful. The Canon Law of the Roman Church has, historically, been based upon the principles and usages recorded by our so-called Apostolical Canons; but in spirit and substance it is in contradiction to the constitution, principles, and practice of the ancient Church, from one end to the other. Its practical cement with the genuine ancient Ecclesiastical Law is blood. Its very life is based upon the death of the legitimate power

of the congregation, and the denial of the supreme sovereignty of the whole Church visible, which is, as Hooker says in his seventh book, "the true, original subject of all power." The distinguishing power of a bishop, in the ecclesiastical sense, rested upon his having a council of elders by his side; whereas, his brother bishop, in the next village, was without it. As to the Anglo-Saxon Canons, they are much stronger evidence of the rights of the laity, than those of the Romanizing and imperialized Franks. The Canons of 750 and 970 are very strong upon that point, as has been shown by the present bishop of Oxford in his highly instructive work on the Episcopal Church of the United States; and lately by the Rev. William Goode, in his Defence of the expressions of the present venerable head of the Church of England, respecting the validity of non-episcopal ordinations, against certain attacks and anathemas, which certainly betray no more learning than charity. The learned author, in that Defence, shows that not only the two great living historians of the English Constitution, Hallam and Macaulay, but also the great Bacon, and the most eminent defenders of episcopacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, protest against such a doctrine, which, indeed, Laud himself did not hold.

The point at issue with the Anomians is, that there exists Church government by divine right; with the Judaizers, that the supreme legislative authority

of the Church is in the Christian people. Divine unselfing love, which has founded World and Church, can alone regenerate and reform them.

And now one retrospective glance over our picture! The hidden germs of life have been developed into a new world, now growing into colossal proportions, and conscious of the awful alternative of death or regeneration. The great work of Christianity is not a hierarchy with her rich rituals and her ritualistic art and conventional science; its miracle is the world in which we live. It is the individual, standing before his God with his bible and his self-responsible conscience, whether man or woman, layman or clerk. It is the Christian household founded on mutual trust. It is the congregation with its own shepherd and his pattern household. It is the Christian municipality, governing itself by the self-government and mutual confidence which are in its members. It is the Christian nation and state, with her national schools based upon the Gospel of the persecuted Church; with her universities expanding in the Christian philosophy founded by the martyrs; with her national hospitals grown out of the nurseries of the deaconesses of old; and with her Poor-Law, consecrating Christian support as a national debt; finally, with her sovereignty of law, and with her religious and civil liberty, advancing by reform and not by revolution. Where that work and that faith in its divine power live, there is Apostolicity, and there is the future of the world.

NOTES

TO

THE INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION.

TO THE FIRST BOOK (BAPTISM).

NOTE A. p. 192.

THE THREE PASSAGES OF ORIGEN ABOUT THE BAPTISM OF LITTLE CHILDREN.

In Ep. ad Rom. V. (Opp. iv. p. 565., speaking of the corpus peccati): "Ideo et ecclesia ab Apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant illi, quibus Christianorum secreta commissa sunt mysteriorum, quod essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et spiritum ablui deberent."

In Levit. Homil. VIII. (Opp. ii. p. 230.): "Addi his etiam illud potest, ut requiratur quid causæ sit cum baptisma ecclesiæ pro remissione peccatorum detur, secundum ecclesiæ observantiam etiam parvulis baptismum dare: cum utique, si nihil esset in parvulis, quod ad remissionem deberet et indulgentiam pertinere, gratia baptismi superflua videretur."

In Lucam Homil. XIV. (Opp. iii. p. 948.): "Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum? vel quo tempore peccaverunt? aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta

illum sensum, de quo paulo ante diximus: 'Nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram?' Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli: 'Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non poterit intrare in regnum cœlorum.'"

NOTE B. p. 215.

LITURGICAL FORMULARIES OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES FOR CONFIRMATION.

I. *According to the "Allgemeines evangelisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch, Hamburg,* 1846," *compiled from the Austrian Agenda* (1576), *and other authorized Liturgies of the* 16*th and* 17*th Centuries.*

ALTERNATE Chant of Choir and Congregation, Psalm XXXIV.:

I will alway give thanks unto the Lord:
His praise shall ever be in my mouth, &c.

(Or the Veni Sancte Spiritus, chanted by the Choir or Congregation, "Komm heiliger Geist erfüll die Herzen":)

Come Holy Ghost,
Fulfil the hearts of Thy believers,
And kindle in them the fire of Thy divine Love;
Thou who through the manifoldness of tongues
Hast gathered the nations of the whole earth
In unity of faith:
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

(Then the Minister shall address the People, either in a free exhortation, or according to the Liturgy of the Austrian Agenda of 1571:)

Beloved in the Lord!

Ye see here before you these children our fellow-heirs in Christ, who through holy baptism have been in their childhood grafted into the Lord Christ and into His holy Church. But inasmuch as they have been led to inquire into the knowledge of Christian doctrine and of godliness, they now desire with all their heart to be allowed to approach more truly, more fully, and more closely to our and their Saviour Jesus Christ, and to His holy Church; that is, by the use of the Holy Supper and Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Now in order that this may be done with greater effect, and to the strengthening of their faith by the Holy Ghost, so that for the rest of their lives it may be to their health in Christ and turn to their good, it becometh us that we should pray God our Heavenly Father, in the name of Christ, that He would mercifully grant them hereto His grace and the help of the Holy Spirit, that henceforth our Lord Christ may more richly dwell in them, and they in Christ; that they may daily increase in faith, love, and patience, together with all the fruits of the Holy Spirit; that they may be furthered in them, and therein abide unto the end, and be saved.

In order that they may attain unto this, I beseech you to pray with me in full trust in the name of Jesus:

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

(The Minister shall then say:)

Beloved in the Lord!

In ancient times it was a custom that they who were grown up should first learn the chief points of Christian doctrine, and after they had been sufficiently instructed

therein, they renounced, before baptism, themselves, the devil, the world and its works, and were accordingly baptized. Then prayer was made for them, with the laying on of hands, that they might receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, in order that through His grace and mighty working they should be confirmed and strengthened in the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel of Christ, to confess the same without fear, more particularly in the time of persecution, so that they might more and more increase from day to day in faith and love, and in all Christian virtues and the fruits of the Spirit, and be continually preserved in Christ and in His grace through the Holy Spirit, as being the earnest of life.

Ye well know, beloved in the Lord, that these children whom ye see standing round (with their parents and sponsors) were baptized into our Church in their infancy, at a time when they could not of their own selves bear witness to or promise anything. They have therefore now assembled here, in order to fulfil, with a joyful heart and with a confession of their faith, all that which in times of old they that were grown up in the Church were accustomed to perform: they are also willing to profess that they have diligently learnt, and do firmly believe, the chief points of the Christian religion in the Church of God, as their sponsors have in their name vowed and promised at holy baptism: finally, they are ready with their own mouths to confess the weakness and infirmity which, according to the flesh, is born in them, to renounce the devil and the world, and to give up themselves wholly to the Lord Jesus Christ and to His Church, that through the prayer of the Church, and through the right use of the Holy Sacrament they may, like the rest of the faithful, receive increase of the Holy Ghost, and be made partakers of His gifts in the Church of God, that they may so lead the life which God grants them in this earth,

according to the Word of God, as well becometh and befitteth the true followers of Jesus Christ.

Wherefore I earnestly exhort you all that you will be witnesses of this holy profession, which they are now about to make before God and before His Church, and that you will earnestly pray for them: and also that each one of you will diligently attend to everything, and apply it to himself, and so interpret it; remembering how ye yourselves did once likewise make confession of your faith and promise of obedience unto the Church, and how for this reason it should be your duty, after such promise, to order your life to the honour of God and the bettering of your neighbour, and to follow the exhortation of the Lord Jesus Christ, when he saith, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

(Or the Minister may use the following instead:)

My Christian Friends!

We have great reason to give hearty thanks to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone beginneth and accomplisheth every good work, that He hath presented these children to His Church, that He hath accepted them in holy baptism, and now hath so far enlightened them, that they themselves have come to the knowledge of this His great mercy and goodness, and of their redemption in Christ Jesus, His beloved Son, our Lord, and now are ready to profess the same before the congregation.

(Then the Minister, turning to the Children, shall say:)

And as for you, my dear children, both sons and daughters, ye must also give thanks and praise to God, that He hath blessed you so highly from your birth and baptism, through your parents, sponsors, and friends (who

now at this hour are presenting you to God and to His congregation), and beseech Him that He may continue to bless you, if so be that ye remain faithful, and grow and increase in faith.

I exhort you therefore, through Jesus Christ, that ye fulfil with willing mind that which it becometh you to do, and that ye give an answer to the questions which I shall put to you, not only with an audible voice, but also with a devout mind, and in the fear of God the Lord, who is a witness and a judge of your thoughts, resolves, words, and promises.

(Then the Minister shall hold an)

Examination in the chief Points of the Christian Faith.

(After this Examination the Minister shall proceed as follows:)

My dear Children!

Now that ye have proved how that ye have been sufficiently and suitably instructed in the alone saving truth of the Word of God, ye shall solemnly declare also at this time, before God and this congregation, that ye have not only heard this doctrine from your teacher, but are ready to profess it as your own faith before God and man; and that ye are willing to affirm, and to keep as your own vow, the vow which was made for you at holy baptism. Let, then, the congregation hear you make, with devout and joyful heart, your confession, such as the universal Christian Church hath professed at all times, and all true believers have sealed in life and death, and so devoutly say after me,

I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.

(to the end of the *Apostles' Creed*, the Children repeating each sentence after the Minister.)

(Then shall the Minister go on to say:)

Minister. Do ye now profess, before the face of the living God, this our Christian faith, and will ye abide therein, and order your whole life accordingly, and die therein?

Children. Yea, so we will, with all our heart, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Minister and People. Amen.

Minister. Do ye renounce the devil, with all his works and ways? Do ye renounce the world, with all its pomps and vanities? Do ye renounce all fleshly lusts and desires, so that ye will not allow them to have dominion over you, nor yourselves serve the law which is in your members?

Children. Yea, we renounce them all.

Minister and People. Amen.

Minister. Do ye then vow that ye will give up yourselves to obey Christ, and henceforth to live and to do according to your faith and profession, and faithfully to keep what ye here have promised?

Children. Yea, so we will, by the grace and help of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Minister and People. Amen.

Minister. On this your profession and vow, I receive you, in virtue of my office as ordained Minister of the Word of God, and in the face of this congregation, into the full communion of the Church, and bestow upon you all the rights, benefits, and gifts which our Lord Jesus Christ hath won and given to the faithful members of His congregation; and I do this in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! Amen.

Choir and People. Amen.

Minister. Kneel down and receive the blessing of the Lord.

(Then laying his hand on the head of each Child he shall say:)

Receive ye the Holy Ghost,
A guard and shield from all evil,
The strength and help to all good,
From the gracious hand of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.

(Or this:)

God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost give thee His grace, a guard and shield from all evil, the strength and help to all good, for the precious merit's sake of our only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.

(While the Confirmation is proceeding, the Choir shall sing the following:)

Receive ye the Holy Ghost,
A guard and shield from all evil,
The strength and help to all good,
From the gracious hand of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Minister. Let us pray.

O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of God, who hast said, "If ye who are evil know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Heavenly Father give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him;" and, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven:" we pray Thee, strengthen these children with Thy Holy Spirit, that they may ever remain in the obedience of Thy gospel, that they may man-

fully fight against sin, the world, and the devil, nor grieve the Holy Spirit, nor wound Thy holy Church by any offence of theirs: but that their lives may serve to Thy praise, to their own salvation, and the bettering of others, as Thou hast ordered and also hast promised us. Amen.

(Or this:)

O Lord God, Heavenly Father, who through Thine unspeakable wisdom and righteousness hast hidden the mystery of Thy kingdom from the wise of this world, and hast manifested it to babes, we all give Thee hearty thanks for Thy great goodness, by which Thou hast enabled these children to come to such excellent knowledge, that they have not only believed from their hearts, but also confessed with their mouths, Thy Son Jesus Christ and the truth of the Gospel: we humbly and earnestly beseech Thee that Thou wouldest further enlighten and strengthen their hearts and minds through Thy Holy Spirit, that they being gifted with true and lively faith, with the fear of God and with steadfastness, also having a good understanding in all spiritual things, may more and more proceed from day to day in all that is good for their salvation, and also may bring forth the fruits of faith and love to the honour of Thy holy Name, and therein continually and victoriously abide until that day when all they that have fought well and manfully shall receive the crown of righteousness through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

(Then the Minister, turning to the Congregation, shall say:)

Beloved in the Lord!

Ye have heard with your own ears the good and Christian profession and vow made by these children: and

inasmuch as prayer hath been offered up for them by the whole Church, it is certain that the Lord will accept such prayer, made in His Name; and accordingly these children may be duly admitted, with all other faithful people, to the supper of Jesus Christ. It will be then your part and duty to acknowledge them as dear children of God in Christ Jesus, as your brethren, nearest of kin, as joint heirs with yourselves and with the Lord. Wherefore I commend them most earnestly to your keeping, that ye may be ready to show them every Christian service and love, in body and soul, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

(After this a Hymn shall be sung. The following verse is usually chosen, "Lass mich dein sein und bleiben":

Let me be Thine for ever,
Thou good and faithful Lord!
Nor world nor sin me sever
From Thee and Thy dear Word:
Keep me, O Lord, and raise me
With Thine own arm; then I
With heart and mind will praise Thee,
Through all eternity.)

(Then the Minister shall say:)

The God of peace sanctify you throughly, and may your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ! Faithful is He who calleth you, who also will do it. Amen.

Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.

II. *The Order of Confirmation, as agreed upon for the German Congregation at Jerusalem.*

(A Hymn shall be sung by the People, after which the Minister shall say:)

Our help cometh from the Lord: who hath made heaven and earth.

Dearly beloved in the Lord!

You see here before you these children, fellow-heir with us in Christ, and by holy baptism grafted into the body of Christ and received into His Church. They have been, since that time, frequently reminded of the baptismal covenant, instructed in the discipline of the Gospel, and of late fully taught the Christian doctrine of salvation. They desire now to be received into its fullest communion, as true soldiers of Christ, and to participate in all the graces which the Lord promises to His faithful people in His holy communion; and, as a sure witness of this their godly desire, they offer now to give account of their faith publicly before God and this Christian congregation, and to renew by a solemn vow and profession the covenant into which they entered in baptism, to the end that they may be presented to the Bishop, and allowed to receive the blessing of the Church given through his hands, and then be admitted to the Holy Communion, as the seal of such vow and blessing.

Wherefore I exhort you all, in the name of God, that you will give heed to this examination, and to the testimony which they are about to give of their faith, with an attentive and devout mind.

And as for you, my dear Children, I exhort you now, to give with all readiness account of that which you have learnt, with good confidence and lively faith in your dear

Saviour and Mediator, who hath promised, saying, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

(Then the Minister shall hold an)

Examination.

(This being concluded, he shall go on to say:)

My dear Children! &c., as above, unto the end of the service.

(After which shall follow the Order of Confirmation, according to the English Prayer-book, beginning with "Our help is in the Name of the Lord," &c. unto the end.)

Bishop. Our help is in the Name of the Lord:
Answer. Who hath made heaven and earth.
Bishop. Blessed be the Name of the Lord:
Answer. Henceforth, world without end.
Bishop. Lord, hear our prayers.
Answer. And let our cry come unto Thee.

The Bishop. Let us pray.

Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these Thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins; strengthen them, we beseech Thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear, now and for ever. Amen.

(Then all of them in order kneeling before the Bishop, he shall lay his hand upon the head of every one severally, saying:)

Defend, O Lord, this Thy servant, with Thy heavenly grace, that He may continue Thine for ever, and daily increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto Thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

(Then shall the Bishop say:)

The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with Thy spirit.

(And all kneeling down, the Bishop shall add:)

Let us pray.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

(And this Collect:)

Almighty and everliving God, who makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto Thy Divine Majesty; we make our humble supplications unto Thee for these Thy servants, upon whom (after the example of Thy holy Apostles) we have now laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of Thy favoured gracious goodness towards them. Let Thy fatherly hand, we beseech Thee, ever be over them. Let Thy Holy Spirit ever be with them, and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of Thy Word, that in the end they may obtain everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

O Almighty Lord and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern both our

hearts and bodies in the ways of Thy laws, and in the works of Thy commandments; that through Thy most mighty protection both here and ever we may be preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

(Then the Bishop shall bless them, saying thus:)

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

TO THE SECOND BOOK (THE CONSTITUTION).

NOTE C. p. 237.

THE HISTORY OF THE 20TH ARTICLE IN THE ENGLISH ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

THE words quoted, with which the 20th Article at present begins (in the Latin text, "Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem"), are not in the authentic Latin copy which bears the original signatures of the bishops in the Synod of 1562, when the Articles of Edward VI. were definitively settled; nor in the document of the Convocation of 1571, also signed by the bishops: nor are they found in the English editions of Jugg and Cawood, of 1563; nor in the Latin and English editions published under the direction of bishop Jewel in 1571. They are first found in the Latin edition of Wolfe in 1571, and occasionally in subsequent editions

until the time of archbishop Laud, who had them inserted in all the authorized copies. Laud was beheaded: the republican Revolution overthrew the whole Church: the Restoration ratified and reestablished this spurious text of the Article. The Revolution of 1689, which introduced real constitutional liberty, made that text practically a dead letter, which circumstance may explain the fact, that its spuriousness has never been made, either at that period, or later, the subject of discussion.

The key to the whole insertion is in the remarkable addition made in Wolfe's edition of 1563, in which that clause first appeared. There, namely, are added the following words of the royal sanction: "Quibus omnibus articulis Serenissima Princeps Elizabeth, &c., PER SEIPSAM prius lectis et examinatis, Regium suum assensum præbuit."

The late dean of Bristol, Dr. John Lamb, to whom we owe the documentary proof of this curious transaction (in his book, "An Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, from their first Promulgation in 1553 to their final Establishment in 1571," 1829, 4to), shows (p. 33.) that the copy of the Articles, as decreed in the Convocation of 1562, remained with the Queen for about a year, during which period the clause was added by Her Majesty. I have no doubt it was done in council, through the ready instrumentality of Cecil, but emanated from her own individual will. She was resolved to govern the Church, at least as much as the pope had done.

TO THE THIRD BOOK (THE CHURCH LITURGY).

NOTE D. p. 295.

WORKS ON THE ENGLISH CHURCH, AND ON LITURGIES IN GENERAL, REFERRED TO.

FOR the text of the English Liturgies, I have used the second (more correct) edition of the Rev. *William Keeling's* "Liturgiæ Britannicæ" (1851), in which work the Thirty-nine Articles are omitted) and the "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ" of the Rev. *Peter Hall* (in 5 vols. Bath, 1847). As to the Liturgies of the Scotch Episcopal Church, I have compared the text reprinted in the "Fragmenta Liturgica" of the same author (1848), with the "Office for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a preliminary Dissertation," by the Rev. *John Skinner* (Aberdeen, 1807, 8vo), son of bishop Skinner, who is the author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," with which work that of Macrie is to be compared. As to the rather obscure history of this text, I have found much information in the "Address to the Members of the Episcopal Church in Scotland by a Layman" (supposed to be Lord Medwyn, a Scotch judge), kindly communicated to me by the Right Honourable W. Gladstone. Daniel's text is, on the whole, very correct, and the arrangement sensible: but the relation of the Scotch and the American Communion Services to each other cannot be made out of it with exactness. As to the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church in the United States, I have used the edition of Brownell (1823, 4to), with a learned commentary, and besides (for the Hymn-book) the most recent editions pub-

lished in Pennsylvania and New York. The distinguished historical work of the Right Rev. Bishop Wilberforce, alluded to in the concluding chapter, has the title, "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America" (1844; 2nd edition, 1845, 8vo). As to the Constitutional Law of the Church of England, the controversial works of the Rev. William Goode, referred to, have the titles: "The Doctrine of the Church of England on Non-Episcopal Ordination" (Nov. 1851, 8vo): and, "A Reply to the Bishop of Exeter's second Arraignment of his Metropolitan" (1852). As to the discussion on the term "Church of Scotland" in the LVth Canon, the same author has also published a treatise, "A reply to Archdeacon Churton," &c.

I take this opportunity to apologize for not quoting more accurately the rare book mentioned p. 369. as "the Austrian Agenda of 1571." I possessed, myself, a fine copy of this most spirited and very rare Liturgy of Austria under the Ens, printed at Linz in 1571, and known as being principally the work of Chytræus. I have made more use of this Agenda than of any other in my "Gesang- und Gebetbuch" of 1846: but I must have lent it since to one of my literary friends who take an interest in my very complete collection of ancient and modern Agenda and Hymn-books (about 500 volumes), and that friend must have forgotten to return it. Probably it is the only copy of this rare book in England.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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